Rev. H. C. Wright

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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND!

The following extracts from a debate on the question of slavery, in the General Convention of Congregational ministers in Vermont, are copied from the Vermont Chronicle, the organ of the denomination. Such blindness, such indifference and insensibility to the wrongs of outraged humanity, such Pharisaical pride and priestly hard-heartedness, have been rarely exhibited, by any body of men, since the commencement of the anti-slavery controversy.—J.

The Memorial of the Black River Association having been taken up, on motion of Rev. Dr. Merrill, it was read. Rev. S. H. Hodges then moved that the prayer of the Memorial be granted, and that a letter to our christian brethren at the South be prepared accordingly.

Hon. Charles Marsh opposed the motion. He argued in the first place, that it was not the business of the Convention to meddle with the subject. He regarded the subject as a *political* one,—as a matter of government and police; and GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION SHOULD BE KEPT SEPARATE. Government must not interfere with our concerns; we ought, in like manner, to beware of interfering with what belongs to government and law. He regretted that all those whose views were like his, should be called *pro-slavery* men. The language was unkind. It ought not to be said. He had always been opposed to slavery,—totally and absolutely. But as a political institution it was not within our sphere; it was not our business to address Christians anywhere in regard to their laws.

But supposing the proposed measure to be within the sphere of the Convention's legitimate action, he was opposed to it on the ground of expediency. Its operation would be coincident with the doings of the Anti-Slavery Society. And had they done good either to slaves or to slaveholders? Had not both been injured? Had not the Societies been defeating their own object? A few years ago, no one pretended to justify slavery. At the South even, it was universally condemned. But these violent proceedings had produced a change. The opinions of slaveholders had been altered for the worse. Nor was the condition of slaves so good as before.

Mr. Marsh adverted to what he thought a better way. He was personally acquainted with the founders and early active friends of the Colonization Society; to whose intelligence and virtues he paid a deserved tribute. No colony on this Continent had become so flourishing in so short a time as that of Liberia.

But, he asked, if we begin with such measures, where should we stop? Why not address a letter to the Presbyterians to tell them to stop quarrelling? The principle was the same. He thought it did not become us to assume such an attitude.

He deprecated excitement on such subjects. We were in danger of becoming identified with a political party. As an ecclesiastical body we ought to let political interests and parties alone. Political men already begin to talk of 'smoking the ministers out.' Introduce the subject into a Church, and you split it in twain. *He regarded the movements of the Anti-Slavery Societies as of all the devices of the great adversary, the most dangerous.* He moved that the subject be indefinitely postponed.

Rev. J. F. Goodhue regretted so much reference to anti-slavery,—which was not to be identified with *wild and fanatical spirits* who go by that name. The public mind was changing, as his own had changed; and was coming to regard immediate emancipation as a rational doctrine. The objection on the ground of politics was not valid. It was the duty of Christians to testify against the wickedness of rulers,—as had been done in the case of Sabbath Mails and grog-shops. The churches would not divide but harmonize by discussion. Duty to our southern brethren required us to address them. Where were they to get light, if not from us? If we continue to receive slaveholding ministers, as if they were not guilty, the evil would continue and grow. As to the report that things were in a worse state at the South in consequence of anti-slavery movements, he did not believe a word of it. The societies had been doing a work of absolute necessity.

Rev. Worthington Wright could act with his fellow-citizens, as one of them, on political subjects; but found in the Bible no license to act on such subjects in an ecclesiastical capacity. He referred to the example of our Saviour. Slavery existed; he inculcated principles that will always overthrow it, but never denounced it as a political system. His silence imposes an obligation on his ministers to do the same in similar circumstances. They should know nothing but Christ crucified.

Rev. J. K. Converse had become acquainted with the state of feeling at the South by a residence there some time ago; and was convinced that, had we done what is now proposed, ten years since, in a conciliatory manner, we should have been 40 years nearer to abolition. Feelings had changed in consequence of recent movements. The more slaveholders were urged in the present style, the less would they be disposed to renounce the system. The movement had become connected with politics. Anti-slavery men were pledging themselves to certain political votes. He had himself proposed a measure like this in his Association five years ago. But if any thing was to be done for good, it must be entirely dissociated from abolitionism.

Professor Hough had serious objections. In present circumstances we could not do any thing with promise of good results. *It was known that we are all opposed to slavery (!!)* The measure was not necessary in order to set ourselves right. Whatever we might do, would be received with distrust or opposition. Suspicion was awake at the South against us. There was a wall of brass. We could not get a hearing. We could not get our documents published at the South. If we could produce a movement in the religious community there, it would be disastrous. It would exclude them from all influence with the mass of the people. A Baptist address had been sent, and the result was understood to be exasperation—injury. He had inquired much about the influence of anti-slavery movements on the South. *It had all been mischievous.* He mentioned a recent interview with a distinguished and most worthy southern gentleman, who confirmed this opinion in the strongest terms. The people of Vermont had no chance for a favorable hearing. Temperance had been mentioned. He must say, that if he had exasperated a guilty neighbor, he should think it wiser to let him get cool before going to expostulate with him in regard to the spirit-trade. He would not keep up the exasperation, and thus exclude himself forever from a hearing. Vermont was now the last state that should move. We had lost the power to do so to good effect. His opposition to slavery was in print, he said, long ago. Were it in his power he would emancipate the slaves at once. But we could do no good. The case of England was not analagous. We had not control in the premises like the people of England through Parliament. All we could do, in the way they moved, would be like an attempt to demolish the Alps with pop-guns.

Rev. Thomas Kidder assented to the arguments of Prof. H. and added another. While we at the North say that a slaveholder cannot be a Christian, slaveholders will have it that no abolitionist can be a Christian. *Was there not as much reason in the one case as in the other?* We must let them get cool, before we can be heard. Suppose we address them on other political matters. It is a sin to vote for a bad ruler. Why not rebuke them for sustaining such? The fact was, he said, that both subjects were foreign to the objects of this Convention.

Rev. Charles Walker, when measures were proposed, was always disposed to inquire—cui bono? In this case, he saw no possible good to any body at the South,—if not positive evil. *They know we are abolitionists* (!) Mr. Adams had said it, and had sent that truth where we never could. Harmony here was an object. But he feared this measure would bring us no nearer together. We should still be called pro-slavery men. The papers—perhaps one near by—and agents of the Society would go to Brattleboro', and call him pro-slavery. He had heard disclaimers of such doings long enough. He wanted to hear no more of them. An anti-slavery agent had, in company, talked to him in good set terms against these things—could not endure Mr. Garrison, must not be identified with him, &c.; but when he left the house, took from his pocket a bundle of Liberators and went about distributing them! This was what the disclaimers amounted to. They disclaim the Liberator, and yet their recommendation of it remains unrevoked on the published records of the State Society. They disclaim the spirit and doings of individuals, and then employ them as agents.

Rev. Mr. Bennett, of Woburn, Mass., had always felt a sympathy with the abolitionists in regard to their object; but *could never join their Society*, for reasons that had been urged. There was now more union in Massachusetts. Anti-slavery men had disclaimed by more than words. *They had renounced the Liberator and its editor by public acts.* The great body of the churches were now of one heart and one mind.

Rev. Dana Lamb remarked that on previous occasions the subject had been thrust before the Convention in an objectionable manner. Now it came up properly. But here we had a question of expediency. What good could we do? There was no disagreement among us in respect to the sin of slavery. The difference was about measures; and *there* we shall not agree. We had brethren at the South, he said, who were opposed to slavery. Their mouths had been shut by our proceedings. They could not now speak as they once could. Whatever we might do would be identified with the anti-slavery movement. *There were fanatics at both ends of the Union,—the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery.* We had better let the subject rest, till those at the South who are opposed to slavery, shall again be able to speak.

Rev. J. T. Phelps said something of the state of things in South Carolina and Georgia. Presbyterian ministers were few, and were suspected already. Three years ago a single abolition paper was sent to a clergyman there. A report got abroad that he was circulating such papers,—and his life, in consequence, was in imminent danger. Five years ago, Mr. Phelps did not find any in South Carolina and Georgia who did not admit slavery to be wrong. Two years ago, the same men would either justify it or be silent. The community had become suspicious of Presbyterian clergymen; it was thought that they needed watching. He had, while at the South, taken a paper here called pro-slavery [the Vermont Chronicle.] He was in danger of being mobbed for it, and was branded as an abolitionist. Here they called him a pro-slavery man. The proceedings here, he said, were in the way of the usefulness of those at the South who are trying to do good. Religious instruction of slaves, even, is now forbidden to northern men. That door of usefulness is closed.

Rev. Thomas Kidder interposed a question. Our anti-slavery men had, in effect, excommunicated slaveholding Christians. Was it proper, after that, to address them as christian brethren?

Rev. J. R. Wheelock remarked that christian reproof required that the reprover go with clean hands. He doubted whether we could approach the South with any prospect of good results. In church discipline, who is the proper person to take the first and second step with an offending brother? One who has had a long controversy with him? One who is particularly obnoxious? We in Vermont stand in that relation to the South. Suppose they write to us. Could they not do it in as kind language as we could use? Could they not remonstrate in as Christian-like terms? We read of fasting for strife. He had himself, in a population from slaveholding states, preached against slavery. He was warned in consequence, not to go out after dark, and was burnt in effigy. His views were the same now. He mentioned this as some evidence that, although he was opposed to any action here, and did not join the anti-slavery society, he was not a pro-slavery man.(!!)

Rev. Dr. Merrill was distressed every time the subject was brought up. The past action of the Convention did not seem to have answered any good purpose in the way of promoting union and peace.

The duty of admonition depended on circumstances—connections, relations of individuals and families. The South was exasperated, sensitive, and in a state of mind not prepared to receive any thing from us as dictated by a good spirit. So the duty of admonition seems to cease, for the time, as in the case of individuals,—till good mutual understanding and a good state of feeling shall exist. We do not consider it our duty to admonish our Methodist or Episcopal brethren of their errors,—or even the Roman Catholics. The duty depends on circumstances. There must be some reason to hope for good results. In this case there was none.

But would the proposed measure do any good among ourselves? He thought not. He thought, from appearances, that the parties could not agree; and that an endeavor to get a suitable letter adopted, would leave us in a worse condition than before.

For himself, Dr. M. would be willing to unite in adopting resolutions of mutual concession. He was willing to go as near to the position of the abolitionists as he could sentimentally, provided the abolitionists would come over as far as he thought they ought to come. He wanted something done to harmonize the churches, but should probably vote against the resolution.

Rev. A. C. Washburn, of Connecticut, thought the time was, when such a course might have done good at the South. But it was past. He should vote in the negative, in accordance both with his own judgement, and what he believed to be the views of the body he represented.

Mr. Converse moved an amendment, disclaiming abolition, &c., but withdrew it. The vote was then taken, Yeas, 16, Nays, 21.

Dr. Merrill moved the appointment of a Committee to report what action the Convention ought to take on the subject of slavery. Negatived.

COMMUNICATIONS.

FRIENDS AS THEY ARE.

I have lately been reading an article, written by William Howitt, which was published in Tait's Edinburg Magazine of October, 1831, entitled, 'GEORGE FOX AND HIS FIRST DISCIPLES:—OR THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS.' I was forcibly impressed by its perusal, and was led to pen the following remarks upon the present condition of that society.

It may be thought presumption for one, who is among the least influential of its members, and who does not himself claim to be as consistent as he should be, to tell them of their faults, and point them to the inconsistencies of *their* conduct. It is not in a censorious spirit that I address them, nor am I actuated by a desire for notoriety:—I simply wish to tell them, in kindness and in love, wherein I believe they have erred. If I can awaken a single mind to the contemplation of what I believe to be of vital importance to the welfare of our Society; if, by a plain exposition of the truth, I can convince a single heart of the error of its ways, I shall feel that I am amply repaid for the labor I have bestowed. I would that a voice more eloquent than mine should address them; and that some whose age and experience would better qualify them for the task, would stir up their minds by way of remembrance.—When the sentinels upon the watch-tower of Zion are silent,—when the eye of the aged warrior has become dim—surely the humble citizen, or the inexperienced youth, who sees the approach of danger, may lift up a warning voice.

If in my attempt to present a true outline of the picture of 'FRIENDS AS THEY ARE,' I use language that may appear—but is not—unnecessarily severe, or utter unpalatable truths, I am but fulfilling that part of our Discipline, which enjoins the observance of 'plainness of speech.' Of the essential principles of christianity which Friends, in common with other religious denominations, freely acknowledge, I have nothing here to say. It is to those doctrines that were once peculiar to our Society,—to those testimonies which early Friends so faithfully maintained in the days of persecution, and handed down to their descendants, and which yet remain unpopular, that I would now call their attention.

If we revert to the early history of our Society, and compare the living and powerful testimonies our members then bore, against a corrupt church, and yet more corrupt state, with the weak and inefficient maintenance of their peculiar principles in the present day, we shall be at no loss to account for that deterioration in our body, which is so plainly evident, not only to our own members, but to the whole world. They were *then* the first in every good work,—the leaders in every moral reformation. Their temperance and moderation appeared to all men; and the simplicity of their lives and character won for them universal respect. But alas! How has the fine gold become dim! How have the pure principles of early Quakerism become tarnished by worldly lust?

Friends of the present day are content to live upon the glorious reputation of their ancestors. Instead of exalting yet higher the standard of moral purity, and carrying forward and perfecting the work their fathers began, they are willing to remain the passive witnesses of the conflict for the right,—the unworthy possessors of the testimonies of early Friends. They are no longer the pioneers of the moral host; but have sluggishly suffered others to go far beyond them; bearing onward those very principles, that were the distinctive characteristics of our body; and are even unwilling to unite with others in maintaining and promulgating the ancient testimonies of Friends, and strengthening the foundations of their own society.

Among the peculiar doctrines of Friends of the past and present day, I may enumerate temperance and simplicity in all that pertain to the outward, as well as the inner man; the inherent sinfulness and anti-christian character of war; and the right of all to universal freedom, from both physical and spiritual bondage. I rejoice that I can truly say, that Friends are far beyond all other religious societies in the practical applications of moral truths; but at the same time must regret, that the formation of benevolent and moral associations, has been found necessary to carry forward those works of reformation, that the christian denominations of our land should have considered it their especial privilege and duty to promote; and none more so than our own society. But if we *will not* labor, others *must*; and they *have* labored effectually.—They have brought to light truths that have remained hidden for years beneath the accumulating rubbish of popular delusion, they have purified the moral atmosphere, and given a more healthful tone to public sentiment; they have called upon the christian church for aid; and uniting the members of various religious sects by the bond of christian sympathy and brotherly love, their course has been continually onward; they have toiled faithfully in the moral wilderness, to 'prepare the way of the Lord and make his paths strait;' and the trees that they have planted and watered, have increased and borne fruit unto the Lord.

I believe that Friends of the present day are as much in the rear of public sentiment, as were their fathers in advance, and more perhaps than many of them are aware of. It is my intention in this article, briefly to examine the position they occupy, in reference to the three points I have just enumerated. The first I shall divide as follows:—

Temperance in eating and drinking.
Moderation in business.
Simplicity in dress and equipage.

So far as regards intemperate eating, it is in my opinion, so much less a vice than intemperance in drinking—both in its effect and in its extent—that I shall pass it by, by simply asking, whether it be consistent with scriptural ideas of temperance, for a christian to spend his money on costly and luxurious dishes, which are not near so healthful as plainer and simpler food, while hundreds and thousands of his fellow men are suffering for the necessaries of life; Lazaruses lying at the rich man's gate, and longing for the crumbs from his table?

Friends, I believe, are justly entitled to the credit of having commenced the Temperance reformation; nor am I aware that any religious society has gone as far as they have done, in their collective capacity; but have they gone as far as they can, and ought to go? Their Discipline first prohibited the use or distillation of liquor from grain. They were not then acquainted with the injurious effects of alcohol upon the system, and it was not until recently that the Discipline has been so altered, as to make it a disownable offence to indulge in the use of ardent spirits. The monthly meetings now have their committees upon this subject, and reports of their labors are regularly transmitted to our annual meeting. So far as they have gone, they have done well, and I wish not to deprive them of the credit which belongs to them. But what would have been the condition of our beloved country had we advanced no farther than this? How many drunkards would have been reclaimed—how many moderate drinkers brought back to the paths of Temperance—how many youth restrained from touching the intoxicating bowl—had not the standard been lifted from the spot where Friends had left it, and carried forward and placed upon the mount of TOTAL ABSTINENCE?

I have been pained to the heart to witness the inconsistency of men, who in our yearly meeting have expressed their approbation of the labors of our temperance committees, and hoped they would be encouraged; while at the same time, their example in the frequent use of intoxicating liquors, did *more* to increase the spread of intemperance, than all the efforts of the Society had effected towards its removal. Can it be possible that in this enlightened age, these men were ignorant of the truths which the Temperance reformation had demonstrated? When taking their cider, their beer, and their wine, did they not know that the alcoholic principle, so destructive to human life, and against which they had been contending, existed in malt and fermented, as well as in distilled liquors? Did they not know that the man who drinks cider or wine, is in reality as intemperate and as much an object of pity, as he who takes his bitters in the morning, or his glass of brandy and water at dinner? If they were *not* ignorant of these things, what shall I say of their conduct? if they *were*, was it not a culpable ignorance? for that man who *will not* see the noon-day light, that is poured in a blaze around him, is far more guilty, than he who stumbles in the dark. Oh! if they have ignorantly slumbered over these truths, let them awake from their sleep, and endeavor by future diligence to atone for past neglect!

There is, perhaps, nothing which tends more to weaken the influence of religion upon the heart, than an inordinate desire for wealth; it is like the horse-leech, which cries, 'give, give,' and is never satisfied. 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.' When I see a man who makes a high profession of Christianity, hoarding up wealth year after year—adding dollar to dollar, and house to house—extending his business, and multiplying his means for the acquisition of wealth—I fear that he cares more for his gold, than his God—for his property than his principles. If there be such among the members of our Society—and that there are, I fear, alas! is too true—let them pause in their eager pursuit, and turn the eye of their mind inward. Nor is it moderation in the *extent* of business in which alone some of them are deficient. Are there none, who manufacture or trade in articles of luxury and vanity, they would not themselves feel free to use? if so, where is their consistency in furnishing to others, that which it would be sinful for themselves to wear?

There is hardly a testimony which Friends appear more anxious to uphold, than that of plainness of apparel; and as it is received and understood by many, none is of less consequence. Instead of the christian simplicity and plainness, which should be observed not only in the apparel of our persons, but in the furniture of our houses, and in all that belongs to us, many are content to concentrate this testimony in the peculiar cut of their coat, the color of a gown, or some other *outward* sign of Quakerism. At the foundation of our society, Friends retained the customary form of dress of that day, dispensing with its superfluous appendages. If that fashion is more convenient, and more economical than any other, I would say by all means adhere to it; but if it be not, then follow after simplicity and plainness, and heed not the peculiar form of the garment, or care whether it is a usual dress, or one that Friends will generally approve. No one can believe that there exists more virtue in the broad-brimmed hat, and round coat of the Quaker, than lie concealed in the cowl and gown of the monk of the Romish church:—or, if any do think otherwise, it is time they had learned better. Some appear to think that it matters not how fine, or how expensive may be the texture of the fabric, the garment is plain and simple if it but receive the Quaker cut; and more anxiety is not unfrequently manifested by parents to obtain their children's consent to dress them in this fashion, than to teach their hearts true simplicity. I have known of one instance—and presume it is *but* one of an hundred—where a mother told her child, that if he would only consent to put on a plain coat, he might go to such a Friend's store and get the most expensive cloth he had:—a lamentable, but in many instances, a true specimen of Quaker simplicity, of the present day!

Accompany yon plain-looking man to his house—it is furnished in a style of princely magnificence; his floors are carpeted with the best of Brussells, though it is true the figure is small and neat; his chairs, his sofas, and his tables, are of the most expensive kind, though made in the Quaker style; large splendid mirrors hang against the wall, in frames though less gorgeous, yet not less costly than those that adorn the parlor of his worldly and wealthy neighbor of the same street; and yet, with all this hidden display, so observant is he of plainness in his apparel, that nothing could induce him to wear a coat of a different cut, or permit his children to do it; or to put on a garment whose color was a few shades lighter or darker than the true standard. Alas, for the inconsistency of man! alas, for those who will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel! But though many of our members are thus wanting, there are others whose hearts have been taught true gospel simplicity, and whose lives and conduct exhibit christian plainness.

The doctrine of the anti-christian character of war had arrayed against it, and successfully contended with the most powerful influences of both Church and State. The faithfulness of its advocates has been blessed, and the principle has struck deep into the soil, and extended its roots far and wide; but of latter years I fear there has been a decrease of that fostering care on the part of many, who as the tree has grown and strengthened, and spread abroad its branches, have become alarmed at its luxuriance, and strive to prevent its future growth, and trim it to suit the taste and convenience of the world.

In the State founded by our own William Penn, and whose constitution is professedly based upon civil and religious liberty, we might expect, if any where, that the conscientious scruples of all would be respected, and the peculiar doctrines of our Society be permitted to find a peaceful abiding place. But it is not so. Though the number of Friends who reside in Pennsylvania is sufficiently great to modify the views and character of the rest of the population, and give to them, in many respects, decidedly Quaker feelings; yet strange as it may seem, they are yet subjected to fine and imprisonment for a conscientious refusal to bear arms in defence of the State, or otherwise contribute their support to a system of military operations.

The testimony that the majority of Friends bear against war, I consider a lifeless and inefficient testimony, and one that is ill calculated to promote the cause of peace beyond the narrow circle of their own Society. Let us examine it, and see whether it be such a testimony as accords with the high professions of our society, and the noble stand taken by our early members.

The Governor is obliged, by law, to enrol and have trained, all our citizens of a certain age; and by virtue of his office is constituted commander in chief of the State militia. Friends refuse either to train, or give an equivalent for their services in money. Their goods are consequently seized, and their persons sometimes incarcerated in a prison. To this, as they ought to do, they passively submit. The amount of property distrained, the number of persons imprisoned, and the duration of their imprisonment, is regularly transmitted to the Quarterly meetings, is there recorded, and rests between the leather covers of the minute book, comparatively unknown, unseen, and undisturbed. But few are acquainted with the nature of Friends' testimony upon this subject; the great mass of the people attribute it to wrong motives; or else, finding it wrapt in darkness and mystery, do not attempt to account for it. Let it be remembered, that the principles and writings of Friends are comparatively but little known, except to our own members, and those who hold frequent intercourse with them; and that they are now as liable to misconstruction, as they were in former days when the charge of infidelity was brought against Fox and his disciples, and their names cast out as evil.

Think you a Penn, a Woolman, or a Benezet would have been thus silent? I tell you nay! They would have gone forth into the world and proclaimed their principles, and told the people of their wrongs; they would have aroused the spirit of the nation, and enlisted its sympathy; and presented the doctrine of Peace in its beautiful simplicity, causing the hearts of the good to turn away with horror and disgust from the foul demon of war. I believe that if Friends had always thus acted and thus spoken, it could not now be said that the Quaker state of Pennsylvania imprisons her citizens for non-compliance with a law which their consciences forbid them to obey. But if we place our candle beneath a bushel, need we be surprised if others should not perceive its light? I do not suppose that it was ever contemplated by the founders of our Society, that we should remain stationary—that the principles they adopted should never be carried farther than they had been able to bear them. Our Discipline has been changed and enlarged to meet the wants of the Society, and keep pace with the developements of moral truth; and we have seen it right to apply some of our principles in a way that was, perhaps, never thought of by our ancestors. They laid the foundation for a glorious edifice; they digged down through the rubbish of corrupt principles, and placed the corner-stone on a sure and solid basis; leaving to their children to carry forward the work they had commenced. Let us not be content to stand idle upon the unfinished walls, and look with ancestral pride upon the labors of our fathers; but with our tools in our hands, seek the quarry where they toiled, and hew out fitting stones for the completion of the building.

As I before remarked, the governor of the state, by virtue of his office, is constituted commander in chief of her military force. I remember hearing of a circumstance that occurred some years since, which is illustrative of the inconsistency of Friends in this particular, and shows the light in which their testimony against war is regarded by some. A member of our society was complaining to an officer of government, who, if I mistake not, was also in the army, of the injustice of the law, which required of Friends military service. 'The law of which you complain,' replied he, 'would have been long since abolished had you Quakers borne a consistent and faithful testimony against it. But when we see you mingling with the political parties of the day—attending their meetings and advocating their measures, we cannot believe that you are so much opposed to the principle of war, as your professions would lead us to expect. When the governor, in the performance of the duties of that official station, to which *your* votes have elected him, calls upon the citizens to arm in defence of the country, why should you complain that *you* are included in the call? When you cast your votes for him, you knew that it was obligatory upon him thus to act; and that any other course would have been a violation of his official duties, and of the Constitution he was sworn to support.'

Can a consistent Friend vote for a governor, who is the *common hangman* of the state, as well as commander of its military forces?—for a President, who is chief officer of the United States troops? Can he use the elective franchise to elevate any one to the office of State Legislator, making it his duty to provide for the defence of the state? Can he send a representative to Congress, invest him with power to declare war, to issue letters of marque and reprisal, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to make rules for governing the land and naval force, provide for calling out the militia to execute the laws, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions, and to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia? These are the powers you invest them with—these the duties you oblige them to perform. What is the basis upon which all our laws are founded?—the principle of violence! If one officer is not sufficient to secure a criminal, we take an hundred; if he successfully resists them, we call out all the civil power; and if such a course be deemed necessary to restrain and execute our laws, the combined civil and military power of the entire nation is employed:—and this is the foundation upon which rests our political superstructure!

Friends would think it a christian duty, meekly to submit to all the robberies, outrages, and murders, that ten thousand men, marshalled under a foreign flag might choose to inflict upon them; but if, instead of these *ten thousand* foreigners, *ten* American citizens,—natives of the same town,—residents of the same neighborhood,—should *attempt one thousandth* part as much mischief, we can readily divine the treatment they would receive. The ten thousand would be unmolested, while the ten would be condemned to *wholesome correction*, and placed under *proper restraint!* Why this difference? Are the cases I have supposed unlike in principle? Are they not precisely the same? It appears to me that christian love, and brotherly kindness would as much sanction the employment of soldiers to defend us from the aggression of the ten thousand, as of constables to convert and imprison the ten! I *may* be mistaken; if so, I desire to be shown my error.

As the recent movements of several of our yearly meetings upon the subject of slavery give evidence of the return of a more healthful state of feeling among our members, and a consciousness of the vast importance of bearing a faithful testimony against this sin, I shall not dwell long upon it. It was indeed time for the society to awaken from its lethargic slumber. After the equivocal compliments paid us by some of the most eminent defenders of the 'patriarchal institution,' we might well inquire, 'What have we done that is wrong, or what have we omitted to do that is right?'

I rejoice that there ever has remained among us some who have worthily worn the mantles of Fox and Edmundson, of Benezet and Woolman; and whose voices have been lifted up to plead, in love, the cause of their brethren in bonds. But have we not also many who are lukewarm and indifferent? Are there not those of us who trade in the unpaid labor of the Southern slave? Have we no merchants, whose extensive warehouses are filled with cotton which they *know* was produced by the unrequited toil of the bondman? Can these men—and I ask it in the name of justice and humanity—can they claim to be the consistent advocates of universal emancipation from mental and physical bondage—the faithful standard-bearers of George Fox—while they thus continue practically to support slavery? Let them narrowly examine their own hearts; let them test their conduct by the touch-stone of eternal truth, and see whether it be consistent with the high and holy profession of Christian belief.

No one who is attached to the principles of our society, but must lament the evident signs of decay which it manifests. Hundreds, yea thousands, who have possessed a birthright membership, have left us and united with other societies; while the numbers of those who are converted to our principles, and join our ranks, are comparatively few. Are we not fast losing the principle of vitality that was manifested by our ancestors? Though still regarded as a peculiar people, it is not as a peculiar people eminently zealous for good works.

Instead of carrying our principles abroad into the world, and proclaiming them from the house-tops and in the market places; instead of preaching our doctrines alike to the Jew and the Gentile, the Greek and the barbarian; we confine our labors too much within the walls of our own meeting houses, and keep the benefits of our charity too much among our own people. This, I believe, arises in a great degree from a desire to avoid weakening our testimonies by mingling with the world; a concern which, if rightly understood, and rightly acted upon, would do much to preserve the Society in its simplicity, and greatly enlarge the field of its operations. But is there not mingled with this feeling, and influencing our actions, a haughty and pharisaical spirit, which says to our colored brother when he enters our meeting houses, 'Sit thou there, for I am whiter than thou,' and which shackles and confines us in our benevolent exertions,—saying, 'mingle not with the world, for ye are holier than they?' It is important for the well being of our Society, and for our own eternal welfare, that we do not suffer a sectarian and bigoted spirit to gain ascendency over us. I have associated with persons of various religious creeds, but have never met with more intolerance than I have seen manifested by members of our own denomination. This should not be; we are all brethren—children of the same great parent, and co-heirs of the same glorious immortality! And though it is natural for us to feel attached to our own peculiar opinions—regarding them as truths that may not be controverted—we should ever bear in mind, that man is not infallible—that we are all frail and erring beings; and that there is, to say the least, a possibility that *we* are wrong, and our brother right. We misapply the phrase, 'mingling with the world:'—we use it in its narrow and sectarian sense, and regard those who are not of *us*, as of the world. It is unjust, ungenerous, and illiberal, for us thus to do! There are men to be found among all denominations, and of no denomination, whose hearts are as pure and simple, whose characters are as exalted in christian virtue, and who are as lovely in all that adorns and dignifies humanity, as can be found among our own members. God looks at the heart; creeds and professions are as nought to him. By our own fruits we shall be known and judged; and he that doeth His will and worketh righteousness, will find acceptance. Is it just, is it christian charity, to say that *they* are of the world, whose hearts are devoted to God, whose thoughts are fixed upon the things of eternal duration, and whose lives are spent in His service? Whether they be Catholic or Protestant, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Quaker, or by whatever name they may be here known, they are brethren in Christ Jesus, and doers of the will of God; to whom we should extend the right hand of christian fellowship, and labor with them side by side, in the Lord's vineyard.

The Son of God eat with publicans and sinners; and surely we may safely follow his example, and mingle with our fellow-men, when the object we have in view is the spread of gospel love—the release of our brother from the bondage of sin. Our duties as men are not cancelled by our obligations as Quakers; nor should we forget that others than the members of our own society are entitled to our sympathies and our aid. When the poor man who is travelling from Jericho to Jerusalem, is attacked by robbers and left wounded and bleeding by the road side, shall we, like the Priest and Levite of old, refuse to go to his assistance, and pass carelessly by, because the good Samaritan who has taken pity upon him, and is binding up his wounds and administering to his necessities, is of a hated race, and a different faith? Shame on those who hold such perverted views of moral obligation—such narrow and circumscribed notions of christian philanthrophy! If we wish to extend our principles, and benefit our fellow-men, *we* must either mingle with the world, or *they* must mingle with us. If *we* are the leaders in moral reform, or works of benevolence, they will unite with us; but if we suffer *others* to become the first, we must be content to follow and unite with them. It is by mingling with the world, for wordly purposes and for worldly gain, that our testimonies are weakened. Why should we fear to do as did George Fox and his contemporaries when they went into the assemblies of the people, and publicly disputed with the priests? Why hesitate to act as did those early Friends, who were among the founders of that society, which so far as England was concerned, was instrumental in abolishing the African slave trade?—Is our faith less steadfast, are our doctrines less pure, than theirs? Why not follow the example of British Friends of the present day, who have united heart and hand for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, with churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, Priests and Politicians—welcoming all who will join in their labors of love? Their association has but a single object in view—the abolition of slavery. They relinquish none of their religious rights—endanger none of their peculiar opinions in laboring with their fellow citizens for the overthrow of slavery; no more than they do in becoming members of the human family, and one of the component parts of society at large.

Could Friends again, become the zealous advocates of truth, they once were—could they again buckle on their armor, and go forth to do battle for righteousness, and attack sin in its strong holds, the people would then see the beauty and power of holiness; statesmen and warriors would come forward to embrace it; and the Priest would leave his pulpit, and exchange the outward ceremonials of his faith, for the simple truths of spiritual christianity. The doctrines of Fox, that have become tarnished by disuse, would again shine forth in their original splendor, the brightness of ancient Quakerism would become renewed, and the Society of Friends again be foremost in every good word and work.

Philadelphia, 7 mo. 1839. A MEMBER.

LETTER FROM JAMES C. FULLER.

SKANEATELES, 8th mo. 28th, 1839.

DEAR FRIEND, WM. L. GARRISON:

After an absence from home of six weeks, (and which absence may account for my not being at the Convention held at Albany,) thou mayest suppose my anti-slavery papers have accumulated to quite a pile; and I may tell thee I have not that time to devote to their reading to which their worth entitles them. A correspondence commenced by Samuel Philbrick in No. 28 of the Liberator, I must confess surprised me. I allude to the information which he says has been received, that a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings belonging to the N. E. Yearly Meeting of Friends, have charged Wm. Bassett with having misrepresented the true state of the society, by publicly stating 'it had no just claim to the character or name of an abolition society;' and further, that the Yearly Meeting had sanctioned the charge by uniting with the report. Samuel Philbrick then goes on to prove that 'the society of Friends in New England is not an abolition society.' With his arguments I shall not contend; but if he is illogical, leave it for some New Englander of the society of Friends to disprove his conclusions. I have a few remarks, however, to make on a subject respecting which, I trust, he has been misinformed. The 'Meetings for Sufferings' are as numerous as the Yearly Meetings, each of them delegating to that body during the recess of its session the power of representing the Yearly Meeting itself; or more properly it may be said to be a committee acting on behalf of the Yearly Meeting. Some of these committees are more restricted than others. The powers of that in New England are to 'view manuscripts proposed to be presented, correspond with similar meetings, and to represent the Yearly Meeting in all cases where the reputation and interest of truth and our religious society are concerned, and to have direction of the Yearly Meeting's stock;' these, with taking cognizance of all grievances wherein any Friend may suffer for any of our religious testimonies, are recommended to its care, and 'to proceed in their consideration, humbly waiting for the influence of Divine wisdom to direct their minds.' In all this, or in all that I ever heard, I never knew a Meeting for Sufferings to bring a charge against, or deal with one of its members for any delinquency; nor can I believe that any such meeting would charge any Friend and bring the specific charge before a Yearly Meeting;—and should such a circumstance unhappily occur, no Yearly Meeting, unless it were under a cloud, would 'sanction the charge by adopting the report:' and I am strengthened in this belief, as the Yearly Meeting exhorts its monthly meetings, 'in a spirit of christian love and tenderness, to deal in due time with *all* such as walk disorderly, in order to *reclaim* and *restore*.' To reclaim and restore are the sole objects of christian discipline, and should be exercised in privacy and love; but should the object be not attained, *then* it may be brought before the church—*not* before a Yearly, but a Monthly Meeting—and should the latter err in judgment, then an appeal can be carried to the Yearly Meeting. My friend Garrison will perceive how vain would be the attempt *to appeal to a body 'that sanctioned the charge.'* Enough on this. I hope to make

some of thy readers distrust the correctness of thy correspondent's information.

Next in order comes an attack on Joseph John Gurney, because 'when at home actively engaged in the abolition cause, yet during all his travels in America, now the grand focus of chattel slavery, I understand he has generally carefully avoided allusion to the subject, in his public addresses and exhortations, which have been numerous and extensive;' and the writer concludes with a lamentation 'of his having traversed this land of oppression, and manifested so little compassion or sympathy for the suffering and degraded condition of one-sixth part of all our population.' The circumstances under which Joseph John is in this country are not precisely similar to those in his own land. THERE *he is a citizen*, and is morally called on to fulfil all the *civil* and religious duties of a good citizen; and thy correspondent states, '*there* he was actively engaged in the abolition cause.' I believe on his return, should he be favored so to do, what his eyes have seen in this land, will compel him still to be actively engaged during the remainder of his life, should slavery continue to be. In this land Joseph John comes not as a citizen, but as an ambassador for Christ; and having travelled with him for six weeks through western New York, and with the exception of only two small meetings, attended all the meetings of Friends in that district, and many appointed meetings in cities and villages where no Friends reside, I believe I can safely say, that thy correspondent's communication, so far as concerns ten or eleven counties in this State, is *incorrect*. My heart had often to rejoice in the noble and consistent testimony he bore against a system so 'cruel, perfidious and hellish.' I shall not add more than that I know he is a sound abolitionist, and of course goes for immediate, unconditional emancipation. Thy correspondent charges him with being the author of 'Free and Friendly Remarks,' and in unmeasured terms reprobates some parts of it. If he will look again at that part of the work, to which he excepts, although it may not be expressed just as he would have it, I think he will see it would be as well not to aver that the author is guilty 'of a prostration of religious and moral principle,' and 'entire forgetfulness of justice,' and 'insensibility to the outrages against human rights,' and 'the wrongs and sufferings of millions in bondage.' Joseph John, if he be the author,—and I believe him to be,—argues that a number of American citizens in the District of Columbia and Territory of Florida, 'hold what they deem to be property in their fellow-men.' These fellow-men have a claim on the same property,—*that is, claim to belong to themselves*, by an infinitely superior title—a title claimed by the Constitution to be absolutely inalienable; and he asserts that Congress is bound by the most sacred obligations to restore this property to its rightful owners, and that those who hold it wrongfully must take the consequences; 'and that *no compensation* to the slaveholder would be required, as far as he can perceive, on the *pure principle of justice*.' A new idea is thrown out, or at least it is so to me, and its novelty attracted my attention as well as that of Sam'l. Philbrick:—'A few millions of dollars would be a small price to pay for the deliverance of the Union from the stain and dishonor of slavery.' He views slavery in the District of Columbia and Florida to be a stain and dishonor to the *whole American* people, and proposes that as an *example*, (not example as to the remunerating the slaveholder) to the slaveholding states, the slaves in those places should be liberated by payment of a few millions of dollars from the national treasury, which, of course, southerners, as well as northerners, have an interest in, and it would most certainly draw to and keep southern eyes open, to see the working of liberty. This is, I think, a new idea, and there is one other connected with it, as much so, that it is a 'GRATUITY which would render it easy and popular to all the parties concerned.' The *gratuity here alluded to is meant, as I apprehend, for the colored man.* Would Samuel Philbrick object to this part of the plan? I would not. A long, if not a good letter might be written on the probable results and certain consequences, if this proposition were carried out. I cannot perceive how 'this popular preacher most heartily compassionates the slaveholder of Virginia,' or hopes Congress will 'relieve him by purchasing all his slaves, or manifests any sympathy with him who can breed and sell men, women and children, and perhaps his own offspring too.' I may be thought partial towards my friend Gurney, but hope I am not; I love him much, because I know him well, but I love truth and principle more; but prejudice seems to have poisoned the mind, or obliterated clear vision from Samuel Philbrick, or surely he would not write as he has done, especially when Joseph John says, 'Every humane and generous mind must revolt at the notion of breeding human beings for sale; and the term itself is scarcely tolerable to politicians.' 'It appears to me, on calm and deliberate reflection, that Congress has power to put an end to free America's chief disgrace—namely, *her internal traffic in slaves*.' 'With diffidence, yet with firmness, I must venture to express my own conviction, that the internal slave trade of this country, though differing in circumstances from the African slave trade, is the same with it in *principle*; that it is utterly unlawful and spurious, and opposed to the very nature of a healthy commerce; that it is a blot on the escutcheon of their free and mighty nation, in the sight of all the nations of the earth.' If Samuel Philbrick read this, and much more to the same import in the *anonymous* publication, I am surprised at his groundless assertions. To the latter part of the communication, I see a reply by Isaac Hopper, and as he does not allude to other parts of Philbrick's letter, it may be concluded that he endorses it as true, which was one of the inducements why I have used my pen. I shall not, for want of paper, go into a discussion of what Samuel Philbrick has written, but simply remark that I am not *quite* satisfied with Isaac T. Hopper's explanation, nor Philbrick's rejoinder; nor his second thrust at Gurney. So far as I understand the situation of Friends in North Carolina, as respects this question, it is, that many years since, they made it a dishonorable offence to hold men in bondage. The laws of the State made it impossible to manumit their slaves, so that individuals were between two horns of a dilemma, and the yearly meeting appointed a Committee to whom those who chose to continue members of the Society and held slaves, might transfer them; and they were, I believe, held in trust for the yearly meeting; but in no sense of the *term were they used, or treated as slaves*. In course of years, those who had thus conveyed their slaves were removed by death, and in several instances their children, or heirs at law, were not members of the Society, and commenced suits for reducing their persons to bondage. At first, Friends succeeded, at heavy expense, in defending these suits, and the people multiplied considerably, so that in after years there were still stronger inducements, to say nothing of the greatly enhanced value of bones, muscles, and blood of men, to commence suits anew; and as I have learned, the judge 'told some Friends, they must look to measures for removing the people, as they could no longer throw a shelter around them, for the law of the State was clearly against them.' I think they numbered at one time above twelve hundred persons, and to effect their removal to 'free governments,' contributions were solicited from Friends in England, and about three years since, a collection was taken up in (I believe) several of the Orthodox yearly meetings, to encourage and assist our Carolina Friends. If I am in possession of the state of the case, I believe they are all removed who are willing to go; of course, Friends can exert no compulsory measures to induce them to go out of the State, and the few who are left are too old to go, or are so mixed up by conjugal bonds, that they prefer the right of remaining, to the severing of such near and dear ties. I may add, that the old, poor, or sick, are cared for by Friends, and I think the whole number remaining is not eighty. Had I time, I would copy this scrawl, so that the compositor should not have so much trouble in decyphering it; but I have it not to spare; indeed, while writing, I ought to have been in the harvest field.

Thine truly,

JAS. C. FULLER.

[☞ Our friend Philbrick will doubtless reply to the above, if he thinks it worth while. Needing a few lines to fill the column, we will just observe, that in our opinion, brother Fuller has not been altogether successful in vindicating his friend Gurney. But we have not room to say more—*ED.*]

NORFOLK COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The quarterly meeting of this society was held in the Rev. E. Fisk's meeting-house in Wrentham, Tuesday, Sept. 10, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The President being absent, Erastus Worthington, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Silas Ripley of Foxboro'. John Jones of Roxbury, was chosen Secretary *pro tem*. Rev. J. Washburn, of Stoughton, offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That all gentlemen present, or who may be present, agreeing with us in the principle of immediate emancipation, be invited to become corresponding members of this meeting, and to participate in its deliberations.

Pending the discussion of the resolution, Rev. Mr. Sanford, of Medway, asked the Chair what was his construction of that article of the Constitution which prescribed the condition of membership. The Chair replied that all *persons*, whether male or female, who were members of the society, were entitled to the same privileges.

From this opinion Mr Sanford appealed, and the question having been put, 63 voted in favor of the appeal, and 57 against it. The consideration of the resolution was then resumed, and it was finally adopted.

A business committee was then appointed, consisting of the following persons: S. Philbrick, Gen. Preston Pond, Rev. A. St. Clair, J. A. Collins, and Eliphalet Rhoades. This committee having retired, presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That no speaker shall occupy more than fifteen minutes on any subject before the meeting, nor speak more than once until all others who desire it have spoken.

Resolved, That all business which comes before this meeting shall first pass through the hands of the business committee.

Resolved, That we regard the principles and measures of the anti-slavery cause to be intimately connected, and that to approve the former and object to the other is to use words without meaning.

Voted to consider the resolves separately. The first was discussed by the Rev. A. St. Clair, Mr. Edwin Thompson, and others, and adopted.

Voted, That this meeting adjourn at half past 12 o'clock, to meet again at 2 P. M. The second resolve was taken up and discussed until the hour of adjournment.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The discussion on the second resolution was resumed, and it was finally laid upon the table.

The Chairman called S. Philbrick, another of the Vice Presidents, to the Chair.

J. A. Collins, on behalf of the business committee, offered the following preamble and resolution.

Whereas, the Constitution of this society expressly declares, that 'any PERSON who agrees to the principles of this Constitution and contributes to its funds, may be a member, and SHALL BE ENTITLED TO VOTE AT ITS MEETINGS;' and whereas, a vote of two-thirds of the members present at any annual meeting is required to alter or amend the Constitution of this society: therefore,

Resolved, That we consider the vote passed by the Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society this morning, whereby women were denied the rights of membership, derogatory to the Constitution, and therefore null and void.

A motion was made to lay it on the table, which was withdrawn, and the previous question moved and sustained. The main question being on the passage of the resolution, was then taken by yeas and nays.

The following persons voted in the affirmative.

Paul B. Clarke, Allen Guild, Sarah Heaton, Nath. Heaton, Abner Belcher, Jemima Cowell, Wm. Harlow, Dan. Hancock, Fisher Messinger, Leonard White, Almira Hawkins, Mary A. Fisher, Lydia White, Eliza Cheever, Martha Cowell, Melancy Belcher, S. Hodges, Experience Billings, Olivia Shepard, N. Carpenter, Warren Billings, Louis Shepard, Freedom Guild, Jos. Winslow, E. Worthington, S. B. Noyes, Jos. Hutchinson, Sally E. Worthington, A. M. Houghton, Warren Allen, E. Shepard, Lewis Fisher, Jos. B. Engley, John R. Morse, E. Rhoades, Warren Smith, S. D. Gray, J. V. Marshall, Wm. P. Peaks, Ellis Allen, Nathan Harding, Loring W. Read, Nelson M. Fisher, Emmons Partridge, Philander Ware, Wm H. Messinger, Elijah Peirce, Aaron Guild, Nancy L. Coles, Ann Dale, Emeline D. Partridge, Jos. M. Cobb, Harvey P. Guild, Roana Messinger, Susan Fisher, Edw. R. Bennett, Eph. Farnsworth, Lewis Guild, Wm. S. Bennett, Leonidas Cowell, Isaac Bennett, Lewis G. Daniels, Miranda Day, Dorohthy C. Richards, Noah Hobart, Eliab White, Miss Stow, Miss Stone, Wm. Paul, Jos. Sharpe, John Bachup, Oliver Perry, Sarah P. Daniels, Sophia Force, Mary Robichaux, Elizabeth Morse, Wm. Cowell, Henry H. Bennett.—78.

The following persons voted in the negative.

Isaac Fisher, Lewis Allen, Daniel Allen, Caleb S. Ellis, E. M. Richardson, Jos. T. Bacon, W. Peirce, Jos. O. Brown, S. P. Adams, S. Guild, Jason Fisher, J. E. Forbush, Seth Sherman, Eben Blake, Preston Pond, E. Fisk, Wm. Messinger, Drayton Blake, Saml. Guild, Chickery Blake, Edwin E. Blake, Lyman B. Larkin, J. Bullard, W. Davis, G. N. Waite, Capt. E. Capen, Jr., J Washburn, James Calder, James Downing, Benj. F. White, Jas. B. Tirrill, Geo W. Bosworth, Chas. Wheeler, Stephen I. Metcalf, Albert Cole, Dan. Nurse, Asa Cole, Saml. Allen, Sewall Harding, Horace Walker, Jonas Perkins, Thos. Mann, Thos. A. George, Nathan Aldrich, Edwin E. Forbush, N. W. Allen, Smith Pond, Galen Carpenter, Geo. N. Appleton, N. Alley, Handel Pond, Silas Ripley, D. Butler, Joseph Clap, Jr.—55.

The Chair then announced the adoption of the resolution. This was denied by Rev. Chas. T. Torrey, who moved that the names of the women who had voted upon the question be omitted. This motion the Chair pronounced out of order; whereupon Gen. Preston Pond gave an invitation to the friends of the new organization to withdraw to the vestry. After the friends of the new organization had withdrawn, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the attempt which has been made this day to deprive women of their constitutional right of membership is unworthy of any persons calling themselves abolitionists, and meets our most unqualified condemnation.

Resolved, That the firm and consistent course pursued by the Vice Presidents, who have this day performed the duties of the Chair entitles them to the gratitude and confidence of the society.

Resolved, That it is the solemn and imperative duty of every professed minister of the gospel to bear a faithful pulpit testimony against the sin of slavery; and that we cannot recognize those who neglect or refuse to perform this duty, as ministers of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Resolved, That it is as inconsistent and sinful to support pro-slavery ministers, as it is to vote for pro-slavery law-makers.

Resolved, That the admission of women to vote in the meetings of this society, in the language of the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society, 'being grounded on the phraseology of its constitution, cannot be justly regarded as committing the society in favor of any controverted principle, respecting the equal rights of women to participate in the management of public affairs.'

Resolved, That this society still continues to have unwavering confidence in the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and in its Board of Managers, and that we again pledge to support it, to the extent of our ability.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, relative to the difficulties existing among the abolitionists of this State, meets with the decided disapprobation of this society.

Resolved, That in adhering to the constitution of our society, and acting according to its regulations, we disclaim all responsibility or connexion with the proceedings of those who have withdrawn from us for the purpose of forming a new organization.

Resolved, That those abolitionists who go to the polls are under the highest obligation to regard the principles of anti-slavery as paramount to all the party considerations of the day; and that we will not vote for any man as an executive officer or legislator, who is not a friend of the immediate abolition of slavery.

Resolved, That the attempts now making to divide and distract the abolitionists of this Commonwealth, by the friends of the new organization, meet our decided condemnation; and that we will do all in our power, consistent with the principles on which we are associated, to keep the friends of our holy cause united on the original platform.

Whereas, the power of continuing slave-making is held by the civil government, and not by individuals; and whereas, by the Constitution and laws of the U. S. more than 100,000 intelligent beings are annually reduced to a state of absolute slavery—therefore,

Resolved, That the responsibility and guilt of slavery rests on all the citizens of this Union, and not on a part only.

Resolved, That the A. B. C. F. M. and all other benevolent institutions which receive into their treasuries the price of human beings, and the avails of unrequited toil, and permit slave-owners to participate in their management, virtually sanction the slave system, and are unworthy the confidence and patronage of christian abolitionists.

[☞ We are compelled to defer till next week the remarks we have to make on the above proceedings.]

A QUESTION OF ORDER.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I send the following communication for insertion in the Liberator, because it will thus obtain publicity nearly a week earlier, than if sent directly to the Emancipator, for which it was expressly written, while its publication in the latter, if our friend Leavitt will be so good as to copy it, will not be, thereby, at all delayed. It is desirable that Mr. A's letter, and that of Mr. S. should be inserted in the Liberator at the same time with this.

For the Emancipator.

HON. J. Q. ADAMS'S LETTER.

FRIEND LEAVITT:

Your last paper contains a letter from J. Q. Adams, said to have been written in answer to an inquiry, addressed to him by O. Scott, touching a certain question of order, which arose in the Convention at Albany.

'The above letter expresses my views entirely,' says Mr. S. But how Mr. S. can find in Mr. A's letter an expression of *his* 'views,' unless they have undergone a change since the Convention, I can no more understand, than how he came to have doubts if certain of his abolition brethren would not be consigned to perdition for their faithfulness to conscience. Mr. S. asserted distinctly, and very emphatically, that 'a motion to adjourn is always in order.' But does Mr. A. say so? Not at all. He says: 'It is not in order to interrupt a member while speaking, by a motion to adjourn, [Mr. S. affirmed it to be *always* in order to do so]——but it may be made while a member has the floor, and is frequently so made, *with the consent*, and sometimes *at the request*, of the person in possession of the floor. It may be made, also, without his consent, and against his will, *at any PAUSE of his discourse*.' He must have keen optics, who can discern in this any sanction of the 'views' of Mr. S. What does Mr S. imagine Mr. A. meant by that word, 'pause'?

Had Mr. A. pronounced a motion to adjourn to be in order, before a member, having obtained the floor, has *begun* 'his discourse,' it might possibly be somewhat to Mr Scott's purpose, though it would yield no support to his dogmatical assertion, that 'a motion to adjourn, is *always* in order.'

What Mr. Adams says of 'motions of adjournment' being among the 'most captious of the expedients for disconcerting a speaker,' finds confirmation in the occasion of this correspondence. If Mr. S., designing to exercise the courtesy invariably regarded in such cases by gentlemen, had asked me to give way for an adjournment, I should have done so most cheerfully; for I did not suppose he designed to prevent me from noticing at all the ludicrous attempts made by him and others, to prove it 'the imperious duty' of Non-Resistants to despise the promptings of their own consciences.

I should esteem it a favor, if, when honored by the insertion of any thing in the Emancipator affecting me personally, you would send me a copy of the paper.

Very truly yours,

GEO. BRADBURN.

NANTUCKET, Sept. 9, 1839.

From the Emancipator.

LETTER FROM THE HON. J. Q. ADAMS.

Brother Leavitt,—It will be recollected that a question arose at our late convention in Albany, whether a motion to adjourn was in order when a member was on the floor. I stated it was; others took the opposite ground. On returning home I addressed a letter to the Hon. John Quincy Adams, asking his opinion on that point. He has kindly given me his views, with liberty to make them public. They are contained in the following letter.

QUINCY, 9th August, 1839.

Rev. O. Scott:

Sir,—The rule of the House of Representatives of the United States, that a motion to adjourn shall always be in order, is subject, by the practice of the House, to two restrictions.

1. It is not in order to interrupt a member, while speaking, by a motion to adjourn—but it may be made while a member has the floor, and is frequently so made, with the consent, and sometimes at the request of the person in possession of the floor. *It may be made also* WITHOUT HIS CONSENT *and* AGAINST HIS WILL, *at any pause of his discourse*.

2. A motion to adjourn is not in order, immediately after the House have rejected the same motion. It may, however, be renewed, after a very short interval and a few words spoken by any member. Motions for adjournment, and taking the yeas upon them are among the most common and most captious of the expedients for disconcerting a speaker, and obstructing the business of the House.

I am, with great respect, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. Q. ADAMS.

The above letter expresses my views entirely. I have italicised one short sentence, to which I wish to call particular attention. The motion which I made to adjourn, at the Albany Convention, was made after a member had risen to speak, but *before* he had commenced his speech. I believed then, and still believe, that it was perfectly in order.

Respectfully,

Lowell, Aug. 28, 1839. O. SCOTT.

LETTER FROM CONNECTICUT.

TORRINGFORD, Ct. Sept. 1839.

BROTHER GARRISON:

A few items, showing the interest that is felt in some parts of Connecticut in the cause of the slave, and exposing the hypocrisy of some who profess to be thorough abolitionists, may not be altogether unserviceable in extending the holy principles of christian liberty.

I went to Hartford, a few weeks since, for the purpose of conferring with the anti-slavery women there, and seeing whether they could not be roused to do something more for the cause than hitherto they had done, they having newly formed a society and then sat quietly down. Being a stranger there, a friend called with me on S., the minister of the 4th Congregational Society. He gave me a *very* hearty welcome, and expressed much pleasure on hearing my errand; said he would do every thing in his power to assist the laudable undertaking, for it was just what was needed in the city—there were many warm-hearted women there whose energies only needed directing, to make them very efficient. He then proposed calling a meeting of the ladies and appointed the day. The notice of this, which stated distinctly that I should address the meeting, he read the next day from his pulpit.—Taking a note of introduction from S., we called on Dr. Hawes. He, soon after our introduction, frankly stated that he could not strike hands with me because I was a non-resistant and went for 'woman's rights'—yet, as for non-resistance, the doctrines were so foolish that he did not fear their spreading '*twenty rod from Boston*,' and as to the woman's-rights question, it was still more contemptible; but, because I had imbibed those harmless ideas, he could give me no countenance, because they were *so odious* that they brought the great and glorious cause of emancipation into disrepute. (Wonder how it is that such insignificant little things do so much harm—and make so much noise.)

Before the day for the meeting appointed by S. arrived, I accidentally fell into company with S. T. Smith of the Advocate of Moral Reform, who was stopping a little while in H. Telling her of my reception by S. and by Dr. H., she said I am well acquainted with S. and warn you now to put no confidence in him, for he will certainly turn *against* you if Dr. H. is not *for* you. 'If,' said she, 'the whole city were for you, his voice would rise above all the rest; but now he will be loudest against you.' Her words proved true;—for, although I had three meetings more there, he used his influence against them. Calling on him just before I left the city, I asked for an explanation. He gave several excuses for his conduct, whiffling from one thing to another, but they all seemed to amount to this. If women were allowed to address *women*, in large assemblies, they might take it into their heads to think it would not be wrong to speak, if *men* were present—but, finally, after many twistings and turnings, he said, 'I am afraid you will get the fidgets into our women.' He thought it would be well for me to talk to little knots of women in private houses, but not to large assemblies, in large houses. I told him that I considered Dr. H. his conscience-keeper, which he did not deny. In the course of conversation with him, he said himself and Dr. H. had serious doubts of the propriety of their allowing themselves to be identified with the abolitionists, because the cause had assumed a political aspect; but, said he, if the abolitionists will disband and leave the glorious enterprize to the ministers, we will carry it forward. The abolitionism of H., being under the supervision of such men, is, of course, of a very low order, yet there are a few true hearts there.

Judging from the conversation of the people generally, I should say the anti-slavery people of H. threw their responsibilities on the priests, and the anti-slavery priests thinking the way to dispossess the Devil of his territory, is to keep quiet and do it in an underhand manner, by stealth, as it were, before he is aware of it, are very cautious, and scarcely speak above a whisper, except when off the slavery devil's territory, i. e. in an anti-slavery meeting or in conversation with an abolitionist. I cannot but respect Dr. H. for his disingenuousness, however much I may repudiate his policy. I presume he would not, a few years since, have permitted an anti-slavery minister to preach on any subject whatever, from his pulpit. He now thinks anti-slavery would soon be carried to its consummation if disencumbered of Garrisonism.

The women of Connecticut, as a general rule, feel but very little responsibility for the existence of slavery, but consider that the labor to be performed rests mainly on the men: so they sit by, interested in seeing the work go on. As evidence of this, there is much difficulty in getting up female societies. The excuse is, 'We shall not accomplish any thing, if we organize.' When they shall begin to go forward in this work, they will learn that they have the shackles on. Some do not dare to do any thing for fear they may get out of their 'sphere;' not having a very distinct idea of the limits of this 'sphere,' they think it hazardous to take even one step on the ground in which there has been such a 'hue-and-cry' set up about 'sphere;' and the men appear to think it most prudent to avoid any possibility of a fuss. Would they could be brought to remember them in bonds as bound with them! Would they could feel as they would, were a half of their own Connecticut citizens this *day* to be put up under the hammer for the southern market. O how my soul sickens in contemplating the supreme selfishness of the hearts of those who profess to have put on Him in whom was no particle of selfishness, but who was constantly devoted to doing good to others. Either the New Testament is fiction, or else we live in a land of heathenism, of idolatry the blackest under the sun.

For all the suffering,

A. K.

AMESBURY AND SALISBURY SOCIETY.

At a regular meeting of this Society, held on the 3d ultimo, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, within the last year, there has been a secession from the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, of some of its members, who have formed themselves into an Abolition Society, for the purpose of abolishing slavery,—a purpose for which the original society was formed. And whereas, the two societies agree professedly as to principles and purposes, but do not agree as to all the modes of operation. And whereas, a part have in consequence separated and re-organized, that they might operate according to their own sense of propriety and efficiency, leaving the old society to do likewise,—therefore,

Resolved, That so far as both societies act against slavery, caste, and prejudice against color, and tend to elevate our oppressed brethren, we bid them God-speed.

2d, That as the platform of the Mass. A. S. Society is broad enough to hold all who are opposed to slavery, and in favor of immediate abolition, leaving all to do what they can constitutionally and conscientiously for that object; therefore, we continue our auxiliaryship to that society, contributing to its funds, *only* for the promotion of the *anti-slavery* cause.

3d, That we will not contribute money to be expended upon inter-society warfare, or crimination and recrimination; neither will we countenance prescription in either society, but leave them to adopt such measures as they may think most expedient and efficacious, *for the emancipation of the slave*.

4th, That if either society has a truce with slavery, that it may concentrate its forces against the other, we will not subserve its purposes, but, single-handed and alone, march in against our common enemy, SLAVERY.

5th, That this Society has confidence in the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society.

In behalf of the Amesbury and Salisbury Anti-Slavery Society,

JOHN G. SARGEANT, Sec'y.

Salisbury, Sept. 3, 1839.

From the Emancipator.

LETTER FROM HON. WILLIAM JAY.

BEDFORD, 7th Sept. 1839.

Dear Sir,—Observing from the papers that you are one of a committee appointed to receive contributions for defraying the legal defence of the kidnapped Africans, committed for *piracy and murder!* I enclose a check for $20, which I will thank you to add to your fund.

It appears that these men have been arrested and imprisoned on 'the complaint' of two persons, who, although they prefix 'Don' to their names, I cannot 'but regard as two villains.' By their own confession, they purchased those they call their slaves, from 'a cargo just arrived from Africa,' and among them '*children* between the ages of 7 and 12!'

On the 28th June, 1835, Spain concluded a supplementary treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade. The 1st article declares 'the slave trade on the part of Spain to be totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world;' and by the 2nd article, Spain provides that within two months after the exchange of ratifications 'a penal law shall be promulgated throughout the Spanish dominions, inflicting severe punishment on Spanish subjects, who shall shall under any pretext whatsoever take any part in the traffic in slaves.' The 12th article requires that every vessel condemned by the Mixed Commission Court, shall be 'broken up entirely' and sold piecemeal, to prevent it from being again employed in the trade.

From the 1st January, 1829, to 1 Jan., 1836, 29 Spanish slavers, with 8,312 slaves were condemned by the Mixed Court at *Havanna*. The slaves thus illegally imported are manumitted.

In the six months from 30th June to 31st of December, 1838, eleven Spanish vessels were condemned by the Mixed Court, at Sierra Leone, merely for being *fitted out* for the trade, having been captured before they had received a single slave on board.

On the 2d Nov. 1838, the Queen of Spain issued a 'Royal Order' to the 'Captain General of the Island of Cuba,' directing him 'to apply the strongest zeal in dictating the necessary measures for preventing this *deplorable contraband*, obliging the local authorities to prosecute with energy those who are engaged in it, and bring the perpetrators before the competent tribunals for their *exemplary punishment*.' A copy of this order was also sent to the naval commander of the station, 'in order that he may contribute with the forces under his command, toward carrying into effect the beneficent wishes of her majesty.'

It appears from a letter addressed the 20th June, 1838, by the Spanish Secretary of State, to Sir George Villiers, British Minister at Madrid, that it is lawful *only* for a '*legitimate* proprietor of slaves' to transport them from one port in Cuba to another by sea; and then only '*provided* he carried the documents *proving* his legitimate property.'

Ruez and Montez admit that they bought these Africans out of a cargo which they well *knew* had just been smuggled into Cuba in defiance of treaties and laws; they *knew* the men and children they bought and intended to hold as slaves were *entitled to their freedom*; and they *knew* that the official permits for their transportation which they now exhibit were obtained *fraudulently* and therefore void; and hence they are guilty of an act of atrocious wickedness, and ought to be regarded and treated as *felons*, subject by the laws of their own country to 'exemplary punishment.' Yet these two 'gentlemen' enter a complaint against the men they were thus wickedly and illegally holding in bondage, for piracy and murder; and our authorities, with a full knowledge of all the facts, sent to prison thirty individuals, for an act which but for the color of their skin, would be generally regarded as most heroic and praiseworthy. What would be the feeling and conduct of this nation had an American crew captured and sold as slaves by a Barbary corsair, been under similar circumstances carried into London, and there, on the complaint of their Algerine masters, sent to Newgate under a charge of piracy and murder?

I observe it stated in one of the papers, that these Africans will 'undoubtedly be surrendered to the Spanish authorities.' The Federal government interfered to *prevent* the surrender of the Bambers, charged with murder, to the British government; and still later, decided it had no power to surrender a murderer to the Canadian authorities. Whence does it derive power to surrender native Africans to Spain for a homicide committed in self-defence against Spanish felons?

If our courts assume jurisdiction over the Africans, are they not bound in common decency and justice, to try their kidnappers also?

I am sir,

Yours very respectfully,

Lewis Tappan, Esq. WILLIAM JAY.

☞ The New-Haven papers announce the death of another of the Africans, named Soar, from the Amistad. He died on Wednesday last, and was buried the same day. There are one or two more still in a critical state of health.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Glasgow Argus.

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society was held in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's church on Thursday evening, the 1st of August, being the anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies. To give readers at a distance an idea of the nature of this Society, we present the following statement of its objects, as laid down in the advertisement calling the meeting:—'The Glasgow Emancipation Society has for its object the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade—the Protecting of the Rights of the newly Emancipated and Aboriginal Classes in the British Colonies—and the Improving of the Condition of our Fellow-Subjects, the Natives of British India; objects alike worthy of the support of the Christian, the Patriot, and the Philanthropist.'

We observed on the platform around the Chair, which was occupied by Dr. Wardlaw, Major General Briggs, Geo. Thompson, Esq. Rev. Dr. Heugh, Rev. Messrs. Anderson, Baird (of Paisley), Harvey, and M'Tear; Thomas Graham, W. P. Paton, J. MacLeod, one of the Magistrates of Gorbals, D. Macintyre, G. Watson, H. Langlands, J. Murray, W. Smeal, A. M'Keand, J. Reid, J. Beith, J. S. Blyth, W. Ferguson, and G. Thorburn, Esqrs. Drs. Maxwell and Weir, and other friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

[After remarks by Dr. Wardlaw, the report for the year, together with the letter of Mr. Garrison to Wendell Phillips, (see Liberator of June 14,) were read by J. Murray, Esq. Addresses were then made by the Rev. Dr. Heugh, the Rev. Mr. Baird, the Rev. Mr. Harvey, and Major General Briggs; after which—]

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose amidst loud cheering and said:

Sir, I congratulate you and this great meeting upon the arrival of the first anniversary of the day which witnessed the bestowal of entire freedom upon the colored population of the West India Colonies. I congratulate you upon the admirable and irreproachable conduct of those upon whom this right was conferred by the virtue of the British nation—they were unrevengeful while they were slaves, and they have been equally grateful and tractable as freemen. (Cheers.) Their conduct has been marked by prudence, firmness, reasonableness, and industry. (Cheers.) While they have not pliantly and submissively bent to the will of the planter, neither have they been unmindful of the interests and righteous claims of those above them. (Loud and continued cheering.) I congratulate you upon the freedom granted to the apprenticed bondsmen of Mauritius, on the 31st of March last. I congratulate you upon the progress of the cause of human rights in the United States, as depicted in the burning words of my unflinching and well-beloved friend, William Lloyd Garrison. (Cheers.) Finally, I congratulate you upon the prospect of a Convention of the friends of the slave from different parts of the world, to be held during the ensuing year, to consider the plans which remain to be adopted for the entire and universal overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade. And now permit me to leave the language of congratulation, and, by an abrupt transition, to strike for a moment a mournful chord. I cannot resist a spontaneous impulse to embrace this, the first public opportunity of expressing my deep sympathy with those around me, in the loss which this society, this city, and the general interests of humanity, have sustained, in the removal, by the hand of death, of one whom I loved as a friend, admired as a citizen, and venerated as a man of God,—one who was amongst the earliest, the warmest, and the steadiest friends of this society—need I pronounce the name of Patrick Letham? We cherish his memory, we hallow his dust—may we catch his glorious spirit, and follow out his noble purposes! I shall take the liberty, sir, of adding what I think will be deemed valuable to the information already given respecting the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States. It has been my privilege to receive very recently a number of letters from distinguished abolitionists in America, and having several of their communications on my person at present, I will lay an extract or two before this meeting. My friend J. G. Whittier, the well known Quaker bard of America, thus writes:—'The struggle still goes on. Discussion, every where—in the churches, the parlor, the workshop, the stage, the steamboat, and the railroad car.' [I heard this evening some honest friend exclaim, 'We have white slaves at home.' If such there be, behold the way to set them free. Let there be no unlawful outbreaks, but calm, rational, open discussion—discussion every where. The grievance then will soon become apparent, the remedy too, and the ends of justice will be satisfied.] My friend continues—'Discussion goes on in the State Legislatures, and in the Halls of Congress. Discussion literally shakes the nation. We are struggling apparently against fearful odds—but our confidence is strong. The strength of God is pledged on the side of humanity. Some of us, who have been striving from the outset, occasionally grow weary—the harness of our warfare, worn day and night, sometimes galls with its links of iron, and we long for peace and quiet, but the cry of our brother in bonds is in our ear, and we cannot yield to this weakness of the flesh. We must fight on.' My next extract is from the pen of H. B. Stanton, corresponding Secretary of the American A. S. Society. He says:—'The great cause is onward in the United States. Our committee will make unprecedented exertions during the present year, to press our principles on the public consideration.'—We are to hold a National Anti-Slavery Convention on the 31st of July. On the 1st of August we shall celebrate the glorious Anniversary of West India Emancipation.' (Cheers.) I have now great pleasure in laying before this meeting a letter from a highly respectable and noble minded American citizen, now in this country—Wendell Phillips, Esq. of Boston. This accomplished scholar and warm hearted abolitionist, who has for a time relinquished the pursuit of an honorable profession that he may devote himself to the cause of his enslaved countrymen, has done me the honor to address to me the letter which I hold in my hand, and which I shall submit entire, as a document well entitled to your consideration, not less on account of the importance of the topics which it discusses, than for the elegance and force of the language which it employs. I am particularly struck with the just and statesmanlike views which Mr. Phillips has adopted, in reference to the recent attempt to bring the subject of India before this country, by means of a British India Society. This letter will bring me by a natural process to the subject upon which I am peculiarly anxious to address you to-night, and upon which I shall dwell for a few moments, if you do not see cause to dismiss me. (Cheers.)

The following is the letter:—

'My dear Thompson—I am very sorry to say no to your pressing request, but I cannot come to Glasgow, duty takes me elsewhere: my heart will be with you though, on the 1st of August; and I need not say how much pleasure it would give me to meet, on that day especially, the men to whom my country owes so much, and on the spot dear to every American abolitionist, as the scene of your triumphant refutation and stern rebuke of Breckenridge. I do not think any of you can conceive the feelings with which an American treads such scenes. You cannot realize the debt of gratitude he feels to be due, and is eager to pay to, those who have spoken in behalf of humanity, and whose voices have come to him across the water. The vale of Leven, Exeter Hall, Glasgow, and Birmingham, are consecrated spots—the land of Scoble and Sturge, of Wardlaw and Buxton, of Clarkson and O'Connell, is 'hallowed ground' to us. Would I could be with you, to thank the English abolitionists, in the slave's name, for the great experiment they have tried in behalf of humanity—for proving, in the face of the world, the safety and expediency of immediate emancipation—for writing out the demonstration of the problem, as if with letters of light on the blue vault of Heaven—to thank them, too, for the fidelity with which they have rebuked the apathy, and denounced the guilt, of the American church, in standing aloof from this great struggle for freedom in modern times. The appeals and exhortations which have, from time to time, gone out from among you may seem to have fallen to the ground in vain; but far from it: they have awakened, in some degree at least, a slumbering Church to a great national sin, and they have strengthened greatly hands which were almost ready to faint in the struggle with a giant evil. We need them still—spare us not a moment from your christian rebukes—give us line upon line, and precept upon precept. Our enterprise is eminently a religious one, dependent for success entirely on the religious sentiment of the people. It is on hearts that wait not for the results of West India experiments—that look to duty, and not to consequences—that disdain to make the *fears* of one class of men the *measure* of the rights of another—that fear no evil in the doing of God's commands—it is on such that the weight of our cause mainly rests, and on the conversion of those, whose characters will make them such, that its future progress must depend. It is upon *just such minds* that your appeals have most effect. I hardly exaggerate when I say that the sympathy and brotherly appeals of British Christians are the sheet-anchor of our cause. Did they realise, that slavery is most frequently defended now in America from the Bible, that when Abolitionists rebuke the church for upholding it, they are charged with hostility to Christianity itself, they would feel this. If we construe a text in favor of liberty, it is set down to partiality and prejudice. A *European* construction is decisive. *Our* rebukes lose much of their force, when they are represented, though falsely, to spring from personal hostility—from a zeal which undue attention to a single subject has made to outrun discretion. *Your* appeals sink deep—they can neither be avoided nor blunted by any such pretence, and their first result must be conviction. Distance lends them something of the awful weight of the verdict of posterity. May they never cease. Let the light of your example shine constantly upon us, till our Church, beneath its rays, like Egypt's statue, shall break forth into the music of consistent action.

'England, too, is the fountain-head of our literature. The slightest censure, every argument, every rebuke on the pages of your Reviews, strikes on the ear of the remotest dweller in our country. Thank God that in this the sceptre has not yet departed from Judah, that it dwells still in the land of Vane and Milton, of Pym and Hampden, of Sharp, and Cowper, and Wilberforce—

'The dead, but sceptred sovereigns,
Who still rule our spirits from their urns!'

May those upon whom rests their mantle be true to the realms they sway. You have influence where we are not even heard. The prejudice which treads under foot the vulgar abolitionist dares not proscribe the literature of the world. In the name of the slave, I beseech you let literature speak out, in deep, stern and indignant tones, for the press,

'Like the air,
Is seldom heard but when it speaks in thunder.'

'I am rejoiced to hear of your new movement in regard to India. It seals the fate of the slave system in America. The industry of the Pagan shall wring from Christian hands the prey they would not yield to the commands of conscience, or the claims of religion. Hasten the day, for it lies with you, when the prophecy of our Randolph (himself a slaveholder) shall be fulfilled—that the time would come when masters would fly their slaves, instead of slaves their masters, so valueless would be a slave's labor in comparison with his support. To you—to the sunny plains of Hindostan we shall owe it—that our beautiful prairies are unpolluted by the footstep of a slaveholder—that the march of civilization westward will be changed from the progress of the manacled slave-coffle, at the bidding of the lash, to the quiet step of families carrying peace, intelligence, and religion, to their household gods. Mr. Clay has coolly calculated the value of sinews and muscles—of the bodies and souls of men—and then asked us whether we could reasonably expect the south to surrender 1,200,000,000 of dollars at the bidding of abstract principles! Be it just to India—waken that industry along her coasts which oppression has kept landlocked and idle—break the spell which binds the genius of her fertile plains, and we shall see this property in man become like the gold in India's fairy tales—dust in the slaveholder's grasp. You cannot imagine, my dear brother, the impulse this new development of England's power will give the Anti slavery cause in America. It is just what we need to touch a class of men who seem almost out of the pale of religious influence. Much as our efforts have been blessed—much as they have accomplished—though truth has often floated further on the shouts of a mob, than our feeble voices could have carried it; still, our progress has served but to show us more clearly the Alps which lie beyond. The evil is so deep-rooted, the weight of interest and prejudice enlisted on its side so vast—ambition clinging to political power, wealth to the means of further gain—that we have sometimes feared they would be able to put off emancipation till the charter of the slave's freedom would be sealed with blood—that our day of freedom would be like Egypt's, when 'God came forth from his place, his right hand clothed in thunder,' and the jubilee of Israel was echoed by Egypt's wailing for her first-born. It is not the thoughtful, the sober-minded, the conscientious, for whom we fear. We trust them truth will finally prevail. It is not that we want eloquence or Christian zeal enough to sustain the conflict with such—and with your aid to come off conquerors. We know, as your Whately says of Galileo, that if Garrison could have been answered, he had never been mobbed—that May's Christian firmness—Smith's world-wide philanthropy—Chapman's daring energy—and Weld's soul of fire—can never be quelled, and will finally kindle a public feeling, before which opposition must melt away. But how hard to reach the callous heart of selfishness—the blinded conscience, over which a corrupt church has thrown its shield, lest any ray of truth pierce its dark chambers! How shall we address that large class of men with whom dollars are always a weightier consideration than duties—prices current stronger argument than proofs of holy writ? But India can speak in tones which will command a hearing. Our appeal has been entreaty—for the times in America are those 'party times,' when

'Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg—
Yea curb and woo for leave to do him good.'

But from India a voice comes clothed with the omnipotence of self-interest, and the wisdom which might have been slighted from the pulpit, will be to such men oracular from the market-place. Gladly will we make a pilgrimage and bow with more than eastern devotion on the banks of the Ganges, if his holy waters shall be able to wear away the fetters of the slave. God speed the progress of your society; may it soon find in its ranks the whole phalanx of sacred and veteran abolitionists. No single divided effort, but a united one to grapple with the wealth, influence, and power, embattled against you. Is it not Schiller who says:—'Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children—but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shall shake the heavens;' so may it be with you—and God grant that without waiting for the 'United States to be consistent' before our ears are dust, the jubilee of emancipated millions may reach us from Mexico to the Potomac, and from the Atlantic to the rocky mountains.

Yours truly, and most affectionately,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Sir, if I should now sit down, no one here would venture to say I had not made a very eloquent speech. (Cheers.) I said the letter of Mr. Phillips would bring me naturally to the subject of India: you perceive it has done so. Mr. Phillips attaches great, but not undeserved, importance to the question which, during the last twelve months, I have more than once had the honor of bringing before you. You are told that the successful prosecution of certain plans to raise and regenerate India, seals the fate of the slave system of America. This is just—this is true. But do these projects respecting India admit of success—are they such as recommend themselves to reasonable and practical men? They are. First, we point to the continents and islands of America. We say, see there, nearly six millions of human beings in slavery, under a torturing lash and a vertical sun. Look next to Africa—hourly rent by wars, and plundered of her children—look at the irrefragable figures of Mr. Buxton, which have demonstrated the soul-harrowing truth that a thousand human beings are, during every four and twenty hours, butchered with steel, or bartered for gold, that the slave systems of Christian countries may continue. (Hear.) You ask, why this bloody and inhuman sacrifice of helpless beings—why this infernal machinery of whips and chains, and stocks and collars? I answer, that you may clothe yourselves in cotton—that you may drink coffee, and sweeten your draught with sugar—that you may dine on rice, or regale yourselves with tobacco. (Cheers.) Sir, were a man to drop from the clouds, and to be told these things, he would naturally infer that these articles were indispensable—that they could be grown only in America—that they could be produced only by slave labor—that from Africa alone could slaves be procured, and that they could only be kept at work by the means now employed. (Cheers.) What would he think—what would he say, if he were told that all these articles might be raised in the country from which the slaves had been dragged—that an honorable and extensive commerce might be carried on without the necessity of wars, and without the horrors of slavery? (Cheers.) What would he think, if told, that the people who are the chief consumers, and, therefore, the principal supporters of American slavery, have an empire of their own—whose beauty cannot be exaggerated—whose extent is limitless—whose soil is exhaustlessly rich, and whose population is reckoned by scores of millions—from which they might obtain—without coercion—unburdened with taxes, unstained by blood—all that the wants and luxurious appetites of European—aye, and American nations could possibly require—(Loud cheering.) What, I ask, would be the opinion of a visitant from another sphere, if told these things? How do these things come to pass? Do the Americans, Brazilians, and French and Spanish Colonists instinctively delight in inflicting tortures? Is the love of chains and slavery their ruling passion? No. They love money—they see that we are an enterprising, ingenious, and fabricating nation—that here is a market for their produce—that we ask no questions when we buy—that the price we give will support them in administering a system of forced labor, and they therefore adopt and follow the trade of planters of cotton, and brokers in blood. (Cheers.) Scourges and fetters, and bolts and thumb-screws, men-stealers and drivers, are but the instruments they use to accomplish a grand end, which is the reaping of gain by the supply of our unceasing demands. And yet we are an anti-slavery nation—and yet we paid twenty millions to get rid of the abomination of negro bondage in our own colonies—and yet we have societies for the conversion of other nations to abolition principles! Is there no inconsistency here! Are not our professions justly liable to reproach, and to be branded as insincere and hypocritical? While we are assembled here, to point our appeals across the Atlantic, that they may reach, if possible, the conscience of the American, might not a voice of thunder speak from every warehouse in this city, gorged with the produce of the slave—from every spinning jenny and loom employed in the service of slavery—'Woe unto you, Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites,' for you send memorials, and Missionaries, and remonstrances, over sea and land, to denounce the crime of holding men in bondage, while you yourselves stay at home to raise the wages of unrighteousness—the price of blood—and feed to fatness the cupidity of those who are willing to sell themselves to you in the service of sin. All this we should desire if India were not ours—or if the country were blotted from the map of the world. How much more, while India is in existence—while India is an integral portion of our own dominions? Why prefer New Orleans to Calcutta—Mobile to Bombay—Cuba to Ma-

...ons! Why leave freemen famishing by millions on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, that you may steal men from the banks of the Gambia and the St. Mary's, and lash them to their hated task on the banks of the Mississippi and the Potomac? (Great cheering.) But enough; you see, you feel the crime of despising your splendid country and that interesting race, on whose behalf so eloquent an appeal has been made, in the honest, fearless, admirable speech of my gallant friend Major-General Briggs. (Cheers.) You are not called upon to cease your remonstrances against slavery; you are not required to forego any of the comforts or luxuries of life, or to circumscribe your trading operations, or to go to war with piratical nations, or to levy discriminating duties, or to enforce forgotten treaties, or to call together congresses of nations; but simply, consistently, and energetically, to improve your own territory—to employ your own husbandmen—to reap your own soil—in a word, to put into operation a principle of political economy, which would as surely work the destruction of slavery and the slave trade as the produce of the labor of fifty millions of freemen, procured at the rate of twopence per day for each man, must drive out of every market, where fair competition is permitted, the produce of six millions of slaves, whose support averages from eighteen to thirty pence per day. (Cheers.) How truly unexceptionable, how simple, how patriotic, how certain is the course thus pointed out.

Let me, Sir, specify, in the fewest possible words, the principal grounds on which I deem it the duty of this nation, and of such a meeting as this in particular, to take up the cause of India. India, in itself considered, is worthy of our regards. It is the largest, richest, and most available portion of our territory. The people, eighty or a hundred million in number, are civilized, ingenious, docile, acute, and industrious—they are, besides, in need of an interposition to save them from an oppressive system which is breeding disaffection, and occasioning disease, and famine, and death. Their intellectual condition requires our consideration and aid. Various kinds of slavery exist which have to be inquired into and abolished, if within the legitimate sphere of our authority in that country. The inhabitants of India, if raised from their present state of poverty, would become the best and largest consumers of the surplus manufactures of our own country. The political condition of India must be affected beneficially by every philanthropic effort, inasmuch as our tenure of dominion is the attachment of the people to our sway. Look then at India by itself. Half a million of square miles of territory.—Ought not its resources to be explored? One hundred millions of inhabitants. Ought not their wants to be considered? They are poor, they must be fed—they are naked, they must be clothed—they are are disaffected, they must be conciliated—they are industrious, they must be employed. Our humanity, our patriotism, our justice, are appealed to in behalf of British India. But my next ground is the anti-slavery aspect of the question. I see the battle of freedom for the degraded slave must be fought on the plains of India. I see that we are every moment guilty of great inconsistency, if not crime, while we neglect India, and support the slave systems of America. I see that, in the circumstances of India, we have inexhaustible materials for anti-slavery appeals to this country;—appeals to every class of motives by which men are moved to pity or impelled to action. I see that we possess, as a nation, the power of immediately diminishing, and ultimately destroying the slave-trade and slavery, by improving the condition of the natives, and developing the physical resources of India. I see that we are placed in circumstances of fearful responsibility, and that we cannot justify our profession before men, or clear our consciences before God, unless we use the means that are placed in our hands. I see, finally, that by calling attention to India, and exhibiting our simple, yet powerful principles of action, we secure the attention and support of thoughtful, practical, and reasoning men—men who would turn from us if we professed to rely solely upon moral machinery against slavery, while our capital and trade were sustaining it, but are ready to join us when our precepts and our practice correspond, and the truth of our doctrines is recommended by the performance of our duties. I have no time to dwell, as I intended, upon the openings for commerce, and the acquisition of worth which India presents—nor to trace, which I might have done most clearly, the extraordinary progress which has been made in the growth and exportation of every article which has received the least encouragement—such as indigo, linseed, &c. The elucidation of these and other topics must be deferred to another opportunity. I must, however, go back to the points mentioned by our distinguished visitor, General Briggs. It must not be disguised that there is a great work to be done before India can reward the industry, or obtain the benefit of the capital and enterprise of this country, and it is to this work that I want you and the country at large to gird yourselves. I remember the admonition given me by a friend to day, who said, "Pray do not deal in the stale vague talk about 'good government,' which means any thing or nothing as folks please to interpret it, but tell us what India wants, and how we are to get it." I say then, that that Government of India, which shall deserve the name of *good*, will reduce and forever fix the land-tax, which is now the curse of the country—blighting its produce—spreading sterility over the soil, and reducing the cultivator to the state of a beggar. When India is blessed with good government, her ancient institutions will be respected, her municipal machinery will be employed, her native teachers will be sent to their appropriate occupation, her rivers will be rendered navigable, roads and connecting canals will be made, and the produce of the land will be admitted at these ports upon the principle of reciprocal duties. You will ask—how are these things to be obtained? I answer, by agitation, by discussion, by petition—India, it is true, has a Board of Control, but India wants another Board. The board of control she wants is a board consisting of the whole British people—alive to the claims of misery—awake to their own interests—sensible of their responsibility, and determined to do their duty. Let these things be brought to pass, and the spell which has bound India shall be broken—a voice shall be heard crying, from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges to the myriad population of our Eastern empire, 'Arise, shine, for your light is come'—the Hindoo shall raise his head and smile—the earth shall yield her increase—the riches of the East, not 'barbaric gold and pearl alone,' but the bountiful crop of the industrious cultivator, shall find their way to these islands, and all who have labored to succour and illuminate India shall rejoice in the reflex influence of their benevolence. Sir, I will conclude. I rejoice in the prospects which are opening for India. I exult in the results which will, through India, be wrought out for the rest of the world. I call upon the slave in America and the children in Africa to rejoice—but especially do I call upon my country to awake to a sense of her dread accountableness to God, for the use of the mighty power by which she can control the fortunes and the fate of a large proportion of the whole human race. (Loud cheers.)

> Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend,
> On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
> High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given,
> Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven;
> In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
> Or big with blessings or o'ercast with woes;
> And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
> Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
> Oh! to thy god-like destiny arise!
> Awake and meet the purpose of the skies!
> Wide as thy sceptre waves, let India learn,
> What virtues round the shrine of empire burn.

(Mr. Thompson sat down amid long continued cheering.)

MEAN CONDUCT. We believe there is usually attached to rail-road trains what is called a 'Jim Crow' car, in which colored persons, however excellent in character, or well dressed in appearance,—together with poor and despised white people,—are compelled to ride: but, in all such cases, they are not charged so much as other passengers. This, at best, is mean and contemptible; but we are informed that a case occurred, a few days since, on the Eastern rail-road, which exceeds in meanness any act we have heard of for some time. Two respectable colored men, (William Bond of Salem, and William Ford of Lynn,) on coming from Salem to Boston, were put into a car of the above description, which was not only extremely filthy, but in which, as they testify, were deposited 'almost all manner of dirty things—a buffalo skin filled with coal dust, old slippers, dirty rags, &c.' And, notwithstanding, *they were compelled to pay the same fare as those who occupied seats in the first class of cars!* For their remonstrances, they received only abuse in return. The act speaks for itself.

THEOLOGY. William Goodell is writing with much zeal, in the Cazenovia Herald, against the Unitarians, putting them all beyond the pale of Christianity. He has a perfect right to do so, even though he is the editor of an anti-slavery journal; nor are we aware that any Unitarian abolitionists make any clamor about it. But we cannot help thinking what a tumult would be raised against *us*, if we should give *our* views of theology and the various sects, in the same excellent 'Herald'!—(the best and freest religious periodical in the land, well worthy of an extensive circulation in New England, and especially in Massachusetts.) It would at once be said, we think, that we were taking advantage of our abolition influence to propagate our peculiar opinions, and that we were dragging in 'foreign matters,' to the injury of the anti-slavery cause! Would it not?

BOSTON.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1839.

THE PIONEER FALLEN!

The last number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation announces the sudden decease of its veteran editor, the great anti-slavery pioneer, the self-sacrificing, indefatigable, disinterested friend of bleeding humanity, BENJAMIN LUNDY. Among the many philanthropists who have been providentially raised up, from time to time, in various countries, to plead the cause of Africa and her enslaved descendants, no one has labored more assiduously, or surmounted more formidable obstacles, or exhibited more courage, or encountered greater hardships, or shown more self-denial, perseverance, and elasticity of spirit, or deserves to be held in more grateful and abiding remembrance by posterity, than my departed coadjutor. I have ever regarded him with high respect and strong affection, and spoken of him, both in public and private, in terms of strong commendation, while living; and now that he rests from his labors in death, I wish to bear fresh testimony to his worth—consigning to oblivion the memory of whatever may have recently escaped from his pen or lips, through the sudden irritability of a sanguine temperament, having an invidious bearing toward myself.

To BENJAMIN LUNDY, more than to any other human being, am I indebted for having my attention called to the wretched condition of the slaves in this liberty-worshipping, slavery-idolizing country. He it was who first informed, quickened, inflamed my mind on the subject of American slavery, and by whom I was induced to consecrate my life to the overthrow of that dreadful system of iniquity. If, therefore, any thing has been achieved in the cause of liberty, through my instrumentality, let him have all due credit. But I am not the only person, who lives to acknowledge the personal impulse that was given by his benevolent example and earnest entreaty. Thousands stand ready to testify how much they are indebted to him, under God, for their conversion to the side of emancipation, from a state of total apathy to its success. Generations yet unborn shall rise up and call him blessed. It is the memory of the wicked that shall rot; but the righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.

> 'The words which he has uttered,
> Are of Freedom's soul a part,
> And the good seed he has scattered
> Is springing from the heart.'

My first acquaintance with BENJAMIN LUNDY was as follows. In the year 1826-7, I became the editor of the NATIONAL PHILANTHROPIST, the first paper ever established (be it said to the honor of its founder, Rev. William Collier, of this city,) for the suppression of intemperance. Among the periodicals which I received by way of exchange for the Philanthropist, was the Genius of Universal Emancipation, edited by friend LUNDY. At that time, my mind was not much enlightened either in regard to the nature or extent of the slave-system; but it almost immediately began to be deeply affected on the subject, as I perused the pages of the 'Genius.' In 1827, friend LUNDY visited Boston, (having previously ascertained that I began to sympathize with him in his great enterprise,) and providentially remained some days at the house where I then resided. The effect of his visit was, to increase my interest in the cause of the oppressed, and to enkindle a zeal which I trust will never be extinguished until the chain of the last bondman is severed, or my body is entombed in the grave. We at once endeavored to organize an anti-slavery society or committee, to co-operate for the extinction of slavery; but we met with no success. A meeting of some very respectable individuals (several clergymen among the number) was convened to take the propriety of this step into consideration, and to listen to LUNDY's arguments and appeals. He might as well have urged the stones in the streets to cry out in behalf of the perishing captives. O the moral cowardice, the chilling apathy, the criminal unbelief, the cruel skepticism, that were revealed on that memorable occasion! My soul was on fire then, as it is now, in view of such a developement. Every soul in the room was heartily opposed to slavery——but—it would terribly alarm and enrage the South to know that an anti-slavery society existed in Boston! But—it would do harm, rather than good, openly to agitate the subject! But—we had nothing to do with the question, and the less we meddled with it, the better! But—*perhaps* a *select* committee might be formed, to be called by some name that would neither give offence, nor excite suspicion as to its real design! One or two only were for bold and decisive action; but, as they had neither station nor influence, and did not rank among the wise and prudent, their opinions did not weigh very heavily, and the project was abandoned. Poor LUNDY! that meeting was a damper to his feelings; but he was not a man to be utterly cast down, come what might. No one, at the outset, had bid him 'God-speed' in his merciful endeavors to deliver his enslaved countrymen; and he was inflexible in his purpose to persevere even unto the end, though unassisted by any of those whose countenance he had a right to expect.

Some time afterward, I went to Bennington, Vermont, where I edited a weekly newspaper, called the 'Journal of the Times'—a considerable portion of which was devoted to the cause of Moral Reform, Temperance, Peace, Anti-Slavery, &c. I wrote with so much zeal and heartiness against the slave-system, as to induce friend LUNDY to make a visit to Bennington, in order to persuade me to join him at Baltimore in conducting the Genius of Universal Emancipation, which was then issued monthly, but which he proposed to publish weekly, in case I accepted his invitation. I was not long in coming to a favorable decision, because the path of duty appeared very plain. Accordingly, in the summer of 1829, I commenced my labors in Baltimore, and continued them until the ensuing spring, when I was thrust into prison for an alleged libel, in connection with the domestic slave-trade. My imprisonment was for the space of forty-nine days; and the sun itself was not more regular, day by day, during that period, in visiting my cell with his cheering light, than was my friend LUNDY. His sympathy, kindness and attention were all that a brother could have shown. After my release,—it being impracticable for us to sustain the weekly publication of the 'Genius,' in consequence of the limited patronage given to it,—our editorial connexion ceased, and he resumed the entire management of that periodical, in a monthly form. How he bore himself, at that period, will be best shown by quoting his address to the public, which is here given entire:

THE EDITOR TO THE PUBLIC. Again I find myself, alone, at the editorial desk; and again I resume a *monthly* correspondence with the readers of the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation.' I yet hope to have the assistance of an amiable and talented writer, whose services in the cause are invaluable, but the care and responsibility of the publication devolve entirely upon myself.

Nine years have nearly elapsed, since this work first made its appearance. During that period I have witnessed many vicissitudes in the affairs of life; have experienced something of the fickleness of fortune, and a good share of what the world calls hardship and privation. From the commencement until very lately, however, it gradually increased in size, and it is believed in interest. The many difficulties that presented themselves, have occasionally produced some irregularity in its publication; and this, together with the unpopularity of the subject upon which it treats, in a portion of the country, and the general apathy among those who are friendly to the undertaking, have prevented as extensive a circulation as had been anticipated. The strong desire that I have ever felt to contribute my mite towards the promotion of the good cause, has induced me not only to make great exertions to issue a *weekly* publication, devoted to it, but also to render what assistance I could in every other way. But I find that the people are not yet prepared to go with me quite so far. To speak in phrase, a la militarie, I am too near to the entrenchment of the enemy—and, of course, like a prudent soldier, must retreat a little, until our troops can 'screw up their courage' somewhat more. That they *will*, ere long go much farther, I feel well assured; and I shall still 'fight on,' and 'keep the faith,' hoping and believing that a glorious victory will ultimately crown our efforts.

That I shall yet have a severe struggle, for a time, even with the monthly publication, is to be expected;—and I submit it to the consideration of those who profess a willingness to aid in promoting the work of emancipation—those who approve the course I have pursued—whether it be reasonable, or just, that I should thus be subjected to the inconveniences and hardships, almost intolerable, when they are equally as much interested in the matter as I am myself, and have it in their power, by giving a little further assistance, to relieve me from a portion of the burden, and enable me to labor much more efficiently for the attainment of our great and important object.

I do not wish to speak boastingly of what I have done, or essayed to do, in advocating the question of African Emancipation: and I detest the idea of making a cringing appeal to the public, for aid in my undertakings. *I am willing to work;* and can support myself and family by my own labor. But after a *ten years' struggle* to promote the cause to the best of my humble abilities, and in every possible manner, it may not be amiss to inform those who take an interest in this publication, that I have (within the period above mentioned) sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have travelled upwards of five thousand miles on foot, and more than twenty thousand in other ways; have visited nineteen of the States of this Union, and held more than two hundred public meetings, with the view of making known our object, &c.—and in addition to this, have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and I hope the way paved for the enlargement of many more. What effect this work has had, in turning the attention of the public to the subject of the abolition of slavery, it would not become me to say, though I have carefully noted every thing relative thereto that came within the range of my observation. Of this, others, who have acquainted themselves with the matter, must judge.—But I am fully persuaded that something of the kind is greatly needed, and may be instrumental in doing much good. *There is not another periodical work, published by a citizen of the United States, whose conductor* DARE *treat upon the subject of slavery as its nature requires, and its importance demands.*—And, viewing the matter in this light, I shall persevere in my efforts, as usual, while the means of doing it are afforded, or until more efficient advocates of the cause shall make themselves known. I shall now devote my undivided attention to this publication, and endeavor to make it as interesting as possible. I will neither be cajoled by the smiles nor awed by the frowns of any to a dereliction of principle, or an abandonment of the cause. My humble exertions shall be directed to the one great end—my whole self shall be devoted to the holy work—my march shall be steadily *onward*—and neither sectarian pride, party zeal, nor even persecution itself, from the 'powers that be,' or that *may be*, shall turn me to the right hand or the left. If I obtain a reasonable patronage for the work, *it shall go on*, upon the principle that it ever has done, when under my immediate direction, notwithstanding all the opposition that tyranny and malice can array against it. B. LUNDY.

Such was the indomitable spirit, the rare devotion of BENJAMIN LUNDY.

The manner in which his own mind was directly affected by the wrongs and sufferings endured by our slave population, was as follows. A native of New-Jersey, he in early life removed to Wheeling, Virginia, where he worked for some time as a journeyman saddler, and afterwards carried on the business for himself, having accumulated some three or four thousand dollars by his industry and economy. Wheeling was the great thoroughfare of the domestic slave-traffic, through which coffles of slaves were continually exported to the far South. The sight of so much misery and oppression roused up all the tender sensibilities of his soul, and inspired him with a determination to devote the remainder of his days to the work of abolishing slavery. Soon afterwards, he removed to Tennessee, in which State he commenced and for some continued (with considerable peril to his personal safety) the publication of the Genius of Universal Emancipation—being countenanced by a few individuals, chiefly members of the Society of Friends, and drawing largely upon his own limited resources, to sustain himself in his mighty undertaking. At what time he removed to Baltimore, I am not certain; from that city, he went to Washington in 1831; subsequently, he took up his residence in Philadelphia;* and within the last year, he located himself in Illinois,—the murder of LOVEJOY avowedly stimulating him to occupy that post of honor, because it was the post of danger,—but, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring printing materials, he was enabled to issue but a very few numbers of his periodical before his philanthropic career was terminated in death.

His courage and perseverance were remarkable. Having resolved to espouse the cause of emancipation, his first effort was to learn 'the art and mystery' of printing, that he might establish an anti-slavery journal. Without any one to instruct him, he succeeded in acquiring such a knowledge of the business as was afterward of great service to him; and with an old press, types well worn, and coarse paper, he commenced his invaluable publication—taking its motto from the Declaration of Independence, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,' &c. The form in which the 'Genius' appeared varied according to circumstances—octavo, quarto, folio, &c. Its circulation was always too limited to defray its expenses; and had it not been for the liberality of sympathizing friends, as well as for the means which he had saved in his occupation as a saddler, the paper could not have long supported the mountainous embarrassments which almost invariably rest upon such an enterprise. Probably no one, not even his most intimate friend, could appreciate the difficulties which beset his path, or imagine the number and severity of his trials. Millions of our race,—even though endowed with much energy, and animated with uncommon zeal,—would have faltered and fallen in such a hopeless enterprise, where LUNDY stood erect, storm-proof,

> 'Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified.'

Cramped for the want of funds, the publication of the 'Genius' was often extremely irregular. Whenever he was compelled to suspend it, he would start on a mission to wake up the people by his personal appeals, and obtain new subscriptions; carrying with him all the head and column rules, &c. used inprinting the same—so that when a favorable opportunity presented, he would issue a number, no matter whether at the East or West, North or South! From the first moment that he put his hand to the plough, he does not appear to have even once looked back. Onward, right onward, was his motto. He felt, he knew, that

> ———'scattered truth is never, never wasted,'

and therefore he sowed the more abundantly, as one who walked by faith and not by sight.

Many an individual, from the time of Lay, Benezet and Woolman downward, had exhibited unusual sympathy for the wretched descendants of Africa, and pleaded their cause with consummate ability. But none of them seems to have realized how essential to the awakening of a lethargic nation was a regular anti-slavery periodical. It was for LUNDY to place a just and sagacious estimate upon the all-shaking power of the press. Thus he had a clear advantage over all his predecessors, and he improved it very successfully.

His courage was very early displayed, in that he selected a slaveholding State, (Tennessee,) in which to commence his operations against the slave system. True, at that time, there was very little feeling on the subject at the South, and the murderous excitement which now prevails in that section was unknown, and, to some extent at least, unanticipated; but, in 'bearding the lion in his den,' there was real and imminent danger, and no man could predict what a day or an hour might bring forth. True, friend LUNDY, at that time, and for some years afterward, failed to prescribe the only right remedy for slavery—immediate and unconditional emancipation—and therefore did not succeed in striking a vital part of the system; still, his denunciations of the oppressors of God's poor were hot and terrible, and calculated to bring down upon his head, at any moment, the vengeance of the mob. In the course of his labors, he had more than one narrow escape from assassination; yet, I believe, he was never but once brutally assailed, though always more or less exposed by his residence among slaveholders. Some twelve years since, he was knocked down near the Post-Office in Baltimore, in broad daylight, and in the presence of many witnesses, by Austin Woolfolk, the notorious slave-trader of Maryland—stamped upon repeatedly, and covered with blood—no one attempting to interfere until it was evident that his life was in peril. This was a most cowardly attack. Woolfolk was athletic and powerful—Lundy weak and sickly, and restrained by religious considerations from making any self defence. He was truly a lamb in the jaws of the wolf. So badly was he injured, that he was confined some time to his chamber, and perhaps never fully recovered from the effects of that assault. His crime was, that he had published an editorial article in his paper, severely rebuking Woolfolk (in connexion with a tragical event that had just transpired, very similar to the case of the Amistad,) for the hellish traffic in 'slaves and souls of men' which he was prosecuting. Woolfolk was tried for a breach of the peace, on complaint of some disinterested persons; but the trial was a mere farce. He was fined some two or three dollars, and costs! I have heard it said in Baltimore, that Woolfolk, after he had paid this paltry fine, retired with a rabble of congenial spirits to a neighboring tavern, where he 'treated' them liberally—declaring that he had brought a thousand dollars with him to pay for the assault, and that he could afford to pay at that rate for a dozen such beatings.

It was friend LUNDY's good fortune to have the assistance of the late ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER, for several years, in the management of his paper—a young woman of extraordinary talents, and completely absorbed in her endeavors to let the oppressed go free. Her writings have been published in a volume, and are generally known to abolitionists; but her devotion to the cause has never been duly appreciated.

BENJAMIN LUNDY was eminently a self-made man. He was never educated but self-taught. Indefatigable in whatever he attempted, he generally succeeded in his purposes. His mind was more active than robust, more ardent than capacious. As an editor, he exhibited more than ordinary tact and talent, and always furnished an interesting and valuable sheet. His style of writing was brisk, sarcastic, fearless, witty, vigorous—at times rising to eloquence and sublimity—but frequently careless and inelegant. Like almost every conductor of a public press, he was necessarily compelled to write his articles in haste, with little or no time for revision. Considering the few advantages he had enjoyed, few editors ever handled the pen with more dexterity or power than himself. A useful volume might be compiled from his writings, aside from his epistolary correspondence.

In his personal appearance, friend LUNDY, like the apostle Paul, was 'weak and contemptible.' In my imagination, I had given to him, in shape and size, the figure of a Hercules; and my disappointment was great on finding him far below the average of mankind in bulk and stature. I was almost tempted to say to him, as a beloved Irish correspondent of Dr. Watts, on seeing that mighty dwarf for the first time, remarked to him—'Why, Sir, you don't look as if you could say boo to a goose!' 'Boo!' was the clever retort of the Doctor; and I should have received as good a one in return, had I resorted to that pleasant banter—for LUNDY was a ready wit, and could make capital repartees.

He was not a good public speaker. His voice was too feeble, his utterance too rapid, to interest or inform an audience; yet he never spoke wholly in vain. In private life, his habits were social and communicative; but his infirmity of deafness rendered it difficult to engage with him in protracted conversation. How, with that infirmity upon him, he could think of travelling all over the country, exploring Canada and Texas, and making voyages to Hayti, in the prosecution of his godlike work, is indeed matter of astonishment. But it shows, in bold relief, what the spirit of philanthropy can dare and conquer.

Of a very sanguine temperament, he was apt to be sudden in his resentments, and choleric in his feelings; but, generally, he was affable in his demeanor. He allowed but little time for sleep—was ever bustling and busy—wrote with facility, and maintained an extensive correspondence with the friends of emancipation, both in this country and in Europe.

Why it was that, for so many years, he seemed to labor almost in vain, and to spend his strength for nought, is easily explained. He not only neglected to advocate the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, but treated it as visionary, up to a comparatively late period. Hence the vitality of the monster SLAVERY was not reached by any of his darts; and though he was vehement in his denunciations, yet he failed to prescribe the right remedy for the disease. Every body agreed with him that slavery was an abominable system; and they also concurred in his opinion, that it should not be hastily thrown down. No wonder there was little or no excitement in the slaveholding regions, in view of his efforts! Still, he regarded with sorrow and displeasure the least degree of apathy on this subject; for he felt that something ought to be done to deliver the oppressed, though his vision was not clear as to the precise method. While he was on a visit to Portsmouth, N. H. in 1827, a lady said to him—'Mr. LUNDY, what can we at the North do to abolish slavery?' With strong emphasis he laconically replied—'Go to work! Take right hold! Hold on! And never give up!' The answer was strictly philosophical; but it was too general to be satisfactory to a mind groping for light.

Another reason why friend LUNDY succeeded no better was, he did not bear any testimony against the inherent rottenness and injustice of the American Colonization Society, until within a few years. On the contrary, he was rather disposed to view it with a favorable eye, as a friendly ally; though he always declared that it could never do much toward overturning the slave-system, and repeatedly expressed his fears that the American people were placing too much reliance upon it. He made strenuous exertions to open a great highway to Hayti, through which such emancipated slaves and free people of color as wish to leave the country might travel toll free. The Haytien government seconded his efforts, and held out strong enticements to emigrants; but the plan did not succeed, to any considerable extent. Another favorite scheme of his was to form a colony of free colored laborers in Texas; and for this purpose, he obtained encouragement of the Mexican government. He explored the country repeatedly, and had several narrow escapes from death—having had two or three attacks of the Asiatic cholera, &c., and sometimes being compelled to disguise himself while travelling at the South. The wresting of Texas from Mexico by an American bantitti put an end to this project—a project which, though prosecuted with great zeal and benevolence, did not promise much good, nor excite much interest in the breasts of abolitionists. I frankly expressed my views of its inutility; and, for so doing, excited his displeasure—so that the current of his feelings was in some measure changed towards me, especially as circumstances had conspired to throw him somewhat into the shade, and to make me conspicuous in the eyes of the nation. I could not but lament to see this change, but my respect and affection for him were not at all abated by it. His Texian explorations, however, were providentially of great service to the cause of human liberty; for the knowledge which he acquired of the state of things in that country, he communicated to the American people—and, without it, there is every reason to believe that, ere this, Texas would have been annexed to our Union, as an immense slaveholding territory. How wonderful are the ways of Divine Providence!

For some time after the death of the lamented Lovejoy, no one stood forth to raise the editorial banner of abolition in Illinois. Friend LUNDY's spirit was stirred within him, and he resolved to remove his publication from Pennsylvania to that State. He took his position at Hennepin, and had issued a few numbers only, before his sudden exit. Much was expected from his experience, zeal and devotedness; but it was not for him longer to tarry upon earth. Upon whom will his mantle fall in the far West? The abolitionists of Illinois should resolve, as one man, that the Genius of Universal Emancipation shall be sustained until slavery is abolished in the United States.

The biography of BENJAMIN LUNDY should be given to the public as speedily as practicable. It will afford me great satisfaction to prepare it, provided I can be put in possession of his papers and documents. I gave him to understand, during our connexion in Baltimore, that, if it should be my lot to survive him, I would be his biographer. Unfortunately, he lost a large portion of his most valuable papers and journals at the burning of Pennsylvania Hall—a loss that is irreparable; but there are sufficient materials left to make an interesting volume.

In 1831, I paid the following tribute, in the Liberator, to this worthy philanthropist, while he was living:

SONNET TO BENJAMIN LUNDY.

> Self-taught, unaided, poor, reviled, contemned—
> Beset with enemies, by friends betrayed;
> As madman and fanatic oft condemned,
> Yet in thy noble cause still undismayed;
> LEONIDAS thy courage could not boast!
> Less numerous were his foes, his band more strong:
> Alone, unto a more than Persian host,
> Thou hast undauntedly given battle long.
> Nor shalt thou singly wage the unequal strife!
> Unto thy aid with spear and shield I rush,
> And freely do I offer up my life,
> And bid my heart's blood find a wound to gush!
> New volunteers are trooping to the field—
> To die we are prepared—but not an inch to yield.

Now that he is dead, I conclude this hasty sketch with the following effusion:

SONNET—TO THE MEMORY OF BENJAMIN LUNDY.

> Thank God, that though thy body Death has slain,
> Thy quenchless spirit nothing could subdue;
> That though thou art removed from mortal view,
> Thou livest evermore—and not in vain!
> Our loss is but thine everlasting gain!
> Of FREEDOM's friends, the truest of the true
> Wast thou, as all her deadly foes well knew!
> For bravely her good cause thou didst maintain.
> No threats could move, no perils could appal,
> No bribes seduce thee, in thy bright career:—
> O, many a fettered slave shall mourn thy fall,
> And many a ransomed one let drop the tear;
> A nation, wakened by thy trumpet-call—
> The world itself—thy memory shall revere!

The annual meeting of the 'La Salle County Anti-Slavery Society' was to be held in Lowell, Illinois, on the 4th instant, at which it was expected an oration would be delivered on the death of LUNDY by Rev. J. H. Dickey. It is scarcely necessary for me to suggest to the free people of color, the propriety of noticing his departure in a suitable manner.

'THE PRINTER' of the Genius of Universal Emancipation gives the following particulars of his decease:

OBITUARY.

It has become our painful duty to announce to the friends of humanity, and to the patrons of this paper, the melancholy intelligence of the death of BENJAMIN LUNDY, long the faithful and persevering editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation. This distinguished Philanthropist closed his earthly career on the night of the 22d of August, from the prevailing disease of the country, the bilious fever. He had been unable to attend to the duties of his office for two or three weeks previous, but no alarming appearances were observed by his friends, until the day before his death.

Thus is the world called upon to lament the departure of one whose life has been devoted to benevolence and humanity—one whose strength has been exhausted, and who has literally worn himself out, in the cause of the oppressed and enslaved of our land, which for eighteen years, has been the sole and engrossing object of his pursuit, and for which he has toiled unremittingly and persevered with unwavering constancy to his end. Thousands of hearts, which already beat with thankfulness for his sympathy, will bleed with anguish for his departure—and unnumbered millions of disenthralled beings, in the course of time, will look back with joy to his earthly pilgrimage, and hail with blessings the name of the pioneer in the cause of their emancipation.

The philanthropists of this State have unusual cause for grief in this signal visitation. It was but lately that they were called upon to lament the fate of one who fell by the hand of violence, and whose shroud is stained with blood—now another of the champions of liberty, permitted to labor for a season in this vineyard, by the inscrutable providence of God, has been taken away,—he has finished his task and delivered up the trust committed to his hands.

And there are many relatives and friends who have been made deeply to mourn—the father is taken from his motherless children—another link in the chain of affection in their bosoms is broken. They have the sympathy of a class who profess to feel for others' woes, of every kind, and in every creature—and let the balm of consolation be administered from this reflection, that a virtuous life is spent and a glorious course is run.

Honor to his name and labors, and rest to his departed spirit!! When those who are now called great on earth—heroes whose course has been marked with blood and misery—shall perish from the memory of men and fade from the page of history, or be remembered in the lapse of time as the presiding spirits of the events of horror;—then will his humble course of life be marked with beams of light imperishable—his unassuming spirit shall meet with its rich reward—and the fame of him who lived for others good, whose glory was not in the battle-field, but whose empire was the human heart, shall be crowned with an unfading wreath by a world redeemed from bondage.

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* He commenced a new weekly anti-slavery periodical in Philadelphia, called the 'National Enquirer, and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty,' which afterward became the 'Pennsylvania Freeman.'

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON.

On the preceding page will be found an eloquent speech delivered at Glasgow on the 1st of August last, by our beloved friend, and also a stirring epistle read at the meeting, from Wendell Phillips. We bid G. T. God-speed in his new and glorious enterprise.

LONDON, August 20, 1839.

MY BELOVED BROTHER:

My heart is beating high with the hope that I shall see you, if not before, in the month of June next, when the friends of the slave from the four winds are to meet to deliberate upon the means of breaking every yoke. Surely you will be here. Write and assure me that you intend, Divine Providence permitting, to revisit these shores. O, there are multitudes who long to embrace you! All who saw you when you were with us in 1833, will be delighted to renew their acquaintance, and to congratulate you upon the majestic strides which the glorious cause has made. Come then and gladden our hearts. We must not miss you from our councils in June. I much wish to talk with you respecting our East-India question. I feel convinced that you will approve the plan I am now recommending, of encouraging the labor of free men in the East, and of bringing the fruits of their industry into competition with the slave grown produce of the West. No mode of action can be more simple, or more in accordance with our principles and vows. Read the paper I now send by the hand of my friend Mr. Miles, of New Brunswick, and let me see, if not elsewhere, in the columns of the Liberator, the expression of your views upon the subject. We are all more than pleased with Wendell Phillips and his excellent lady. I am very sorry they could not accompany me to Glasgow. Mr. Phillips's letter to me, which I trust you have received, produced a most favorable impression, and reflects much honor upon the intellect and heart of its author.

I have no time in this letter to dwell upon the recent afflicting dissentions in your body. Nothing that has occurred to try the faith and fealty of the advocates of the slave, has distressed me more. My prayer is, however, that all may work together for good, and that harmony of feeling may at least be restored, if there cannot be identity of views and operations. My heart is continually with you. I follow you in all your movements, and rejoice with you in all your triumphs. May you, my brother, remain steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

My best regards to Mrs. Garrison, and to all around you, who remember with kindness the Englishman George Thompson.

Believe me, ever yours,
GEORGE THOMPSON.

GENEROUS DONATION.

☞ We offer our most hearty thanks to the Female Juvenile Emancipation Society of Pawtucket for the generous donation enclosed in the following letter.

PAWTUCKET, Sept. 8th, 1839.

FRIEND GARRISON:

At a meeting of the Pawtucket Female Juvenile Emancipation Society, held January 19th, 1839, it was voted, that the society pledge $25 00 the present year towards the support of the Liberator. The society held their annual Fair the 14th of last month. By the blessing of the God of the oppressed, (and the reception of donations from Boston and elsewhere, which they would most gratefully acknowledge,) they were enabled to raise an hundred and one dollars, clear of all expenses usually attending such Fairs. Having our hearts thus encouraged beyond our most sanguine expectation, at a meeting of the society held August 31st, 1839, it was unanimously

Resolved, That we double our pledge to the Liberator. Enclosed is the amount.

NANCY L. BRAYTON, *Sec'ry.*

THE AMISTAD. The public press has spoken out in clear, decisive, honorable language, respecting the case of the Amistad. The universal feeling is in favor of the prompt acquittal of Cinquez and his associates. Their trial was to commence at Hartford on Tuesday last, before the U. S. Court, but no intelligence had been received from that city when our paper went to press. Thousands will watch the progress of this trial with intense anxiety and interest. Our readers shall be furnished with a report of it.

YOUNG MEN OF MAINE! The Young Men's State Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Winthrop, (Me.) on Wednesday next, Sept. 25, at 10 o'clock, A. M. An urgent invitation has been extented to us to be present, with which we regret it will not be practicable for us to comply. We trust the attendance will be large, and the proceedings spirited.

☞ We are overwhelmed with applications from all quarters, as far as Pennsylvania, to give public addresses on the subject of slavery, and convince the people that we are no monster. At present, it will not be in our power to gratify the wishes of our esteemed friends—even though the public should continue to regard us a 'marvellous' monster, and not a 'proper man.'

IMPEDIMENTS OF SPEECH.

MR. EDITOR:

I feel in duty bound to acknowledge, with gratitude, to God, the benefit I have received from Mr. D. F. Newton's Institution for the cure of impediment of speech at the Marlboro' Chapel. I have been afflicted with stammering for 25 years; but, with Mr. Newton's instruction, I can now read, declaim and converse with fluency and ease. I have also witnessed the same happy results on many others, who have been with me at the Institution. I can recommend his system with the utmost confidence, and his ability to cure the most inveterate stammerers,—who will devote the requisite time and attention to his instructions. CURTIS CHAMBERLAIN.

Boston, Sept. 12th, 1839.

P. S. This Institution is founded on principles purely benevolent. The amount received from those able to remunerate is devoted exclusively to the cause of benevolence and the afflicted.

Mr. N. expects to leave soon to resume his labors in Philadelphia, but will again visit Boston in the spring.

DIED—In North Providence, on the 13th inst., LOIS SISSON, daughter of Joseph and Priscilla Sisson, aged 35 years.

In the death of this amiable young woman was evinced a beautiful exemplification of pure submission and true resignation. Throughout a protracted illness of 18 months duration, not one murmuring expression escaped her; and she assured her friends near the close, that she had never asked for return of health, or even mitigation of suffering, but only that she might be preserved in patience to the end. Death had no terrors, and the world no charms; and the only regret she felt in leaving it was, the grief it caused her friends.

To the last she remained deeply interested in the oppressed condition of our colored brethren, and some of the last efforts of her failing strength were made in behalf of that cause she had early espoused, and which was so dear to her heart.—*Communicated.*

North Providence, 9th month, 17, 1839.

DIED—In Boston, on the 5th inst., Nancy Jasper, aged 55. She became a member of the First Independent Baptist Church in Belknap street as long ago as 1815, and remained a member until her death. She was ever steadfast in that faith which was delivered to the saints, and walked faithfully in all the ordinances of Christ. We believe she had chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her, and that she has entered upon her eternal rest.

NOTICES.

NOTICE.

The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester South Division Anti-Slavery Society will be holden at Millbury, on 3d day, the 8th of 10th mo. (Tuesday the 8th of October,) at 10 o'clock, A. M. All persons feeling an interest in the great cause of freedom are invited to attend, and all Anti-Slavery Societies in this Division are requested to send delegates.

EDWARD EARLE, *Sec'ry.*

Worcester, 9th mo. 16, 1839.

The annual meeting of the N. E. Non-Resistance Society will be held on Wednesday at the Chardon St. Chapel, at 9 o'clock A. M. Notice will be given hereafter of the time and place of the evening meeting, when the annual report will be presented.

MARIA W. CHAPMAN, *Rec. Sec'ry.*

PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

A public discussion will be held at the Chardon St. Chapel, on Tuesday evening next at 7 o'clock, on the question of *Non-Resistance*, between H. C. Wright, and Rev. Nathaniel Colver of this city.

WORCESTER NORTH DIVISION.

The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester North Division Anti-Slavery Society, will be holden at West Boylston, on Thursday, Oct. 3d, at 9 o'clock, A. M., to be continued, probably, for two days. It is hoped that auxiliary Societies will send up large delegations, that the cause of the slave, in this vicinity, may receive a new impulse.

EDWARD KENDALL, Jr. *Sec'ry.*

Sept. 14, 1839.

MIDDLESEX CO. A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held—God willing—in the Baptist meeting-house, South Reading, on Wednesday, the 2d day of October next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The meeting will not only be for choice of officers, and doing all annual business, but for the free discussion of our principles—the interchange of friendly feeling—for strengthening the hands and encouraging the hearts of 'all persons' struggling in the cause of human liberty. While, therefore, the members of the Society are requested to govern themselves according to their constitutions,—*all* the friends of freedom are earnestly invited to attend and do 'what they can,' to deliver the millions in our land—'born free and equal'—from the house of their bondage.

HARRIS COWDREY, *Sec'ry.*

Acton, Aug. 27th, 1839.

NOTICE.

The next Quarterly Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be holden for business, at the anti-slavery office, 25 Cornhill, on Tuesday, the 24th of September, at 4 P. M.

J. A. COLLINS, *Sec'ry.*

Boston, Sept. 12th, 1839.

NOTICE.

The fourth annual meeting of the New England Colored Temperance Society will be holden, by divine permission, in this city, on Tuesday, 24th of September, at 10 o'clock, P. M. Moral Reform, and other topics of deep interest to our cause, and the intellectual elevation of colored Americans, will be presented to the consideration of the meeting. A full delegation from every city and town in New England are requested. Punctual attendance at the hour appointed is respectfully solicited.

Delegates, on their arrival in the city, are requested to report themselves at the Anti-Slavery Intelligence Office, No 36, Brattle Street, where information can be had in relation to board, and the place of holding meeting.

Per order of the Executive Committee—Henry Weeden, Benj. P. Bassett, John Levi.

JEHIEL C. BEMAN, Pres.

THOMAS COLE, Cor. Sec.

BECKWITH'S ANTI-DISPEPTIC PILLS,

SO highly efficacious in disorders of the Stomach, Bowels, Liver, Spleen, Incipient, Diarrhœa, Cholic, Jaundice, Flatulency, habitual Costiveness, loss of Appetite, sick Headache, Sea-Sickness, &c. &c.

Bishop Ives, Dr. Hawkes, Gov. Iredell, Hon. H. Potter, Hon. E. Stanley, Rev. Wm. McPheeters, D.D., and many of the first physicians in this country, are among those who have furnished letters in testimony of the beneficial effects resulting from the use of these Pills. Supplied at JORDAN'S, No. 2 Milk st. whole-sale and retail. Sept. 20.

LADIES ARE INVITED

TO call and examine JORDAN'S new Lace or Star patterns Victoria Combs; also straight back and side Combs, including over one hundred different patterns and figures, at Store No. 2 Milk street, two doors from Washington street. Sept. 20.

VICTORIA COMBS AND HAIR BANDS.

A large variety of patterns of those articles kept constantly for sale at JORDAN'S Comb and Fancy Goods Store, No. 2 Milk street. Sept. 20.

GARRISON'S FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS.

JUST from the press, and for sale, at the Anti-Slavery Depository, 25 Cornhill, an address delivered before the Old Colony Anti Slavery Society, at South Scituate, Mass. July 4th, 1839, by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, pp. 40. Price 6 cents single, 50 cents dozen.

LITERARY.

For the Liberator.

SLAVERY'S WORST ILL.

'——— the mind, oh! tremble and beware,
To lay rude hands upon God's mysteries there!'

'Tis not the constant, unrequited toil,
From earliest dawn to dewy twilight's close—
Compelled, 'neath scorching suns, to till the soil,
To purchase ease and luxury for those
Who care not for the captive's wrongs and woes—
And, when the parting rays of light grow dim
O'er earth and sky, to seek a *short* repose,
Forget, in sleep, that fetters bind the limb—
His dearest wishes to another's will
Tamely submit—*not this* is slavery's greatest ill.

'Tis not to be degraded to a *thing*—
Excluded from all kindly sympathies—
Of tyranny to bear the goad and sting,
Till life hath yielded him to death's embrace—
Considered not as of the human race,
But an inferior link in being's chain,
To occupy, 'tween man and brute, a space—
Yet keenly feel that he doth still retain
The soul's high powers and energies—not *this*
The darkest coloring in his life of wretchedness.

And from his loved ones to be forced to part—
Severed from all that cheered his dreary lot—
To mourn in loneliness, until his heart
Finds that the earth, the wide, fair earth has naught
For him but utter wretchedness—and taught
Deeply to feel slavery's most galling chain—
Ah! what more agonizing than the thought
That all our hopes of happiness are vain?
What depths of misery his soul o'erflow!
But this—oh! none of these is slavery's deepest wo.

It is her deadly power upon the mind—
To tear, with ruthless hand, those cords away,
That man to man, as kindred spirits bind—
The soaring thought in its proud flight to stay—
To chain to earth the soul, until decay
Is stamped on all its native nobleness—
To extinguish every intellectual ray,
Till man beneath the brute degraded is—
Dark are thy deeds, oh! slavery—and this,
This is the draining of thy cup of bitterness.

To make of man a thing of merchandize—
Quench in his soul ambition, hope, desire
Of mental greatness, knowledge, all that dies
Not when these earthly coverings expire—
To shroud in mists the spirit's ardent fire—
Blight in the bud nature's most tender ties,
Till the doomed victim seeks to rise no higher,
Content to *be* till life within him dies—
This, *this* is slavery's greatest, direst ill:—
To force the soul to bow *content* to mortal's will.

HARRIET.

Bath, (Me.) Sept. 1839.

From the August Knickerbocker.

THE WINDS.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

I.

Ye winds, ye unseen currents of the air,
Softly ye played a few brief hours ago:
Ye bore the murmuring bee; ye tossed the hair
O'er maiden cheeks, that took a fresher glow;
Ye rolled the round white clouds through depths of blue;
Ye shook from faded flowers the lingering dew,
Before you the catalpa's blossoms flew,
Light blossoms, dropping on the grass-like snow.

II.

How are ye changed! Ye take the cataract's sound;
Ye take the whirlpool's fury and its might;
The mountain shudders as ye sweep the ground;
The valley woods lie prone beneath your flight.
The clouds before you sweep like eagles past;
The homes of men are rocking in your blast;
Ye lift the roofs like autumn leaves, and cast
Skyward, the whirling fragments out of sight.

III.

The weary fowls of heaven make wing in vain,
To scape your wrath; ye seize and dash them dead.
Against the earth ye drive the roaring rain;
The harvest field becomes a river's bed;
And torrents tumble from the hills around,
Plains turn to lakes, and villages are drowned,
And wailing voices, amidst the tempest's sound,
Rise, as the rushing floods close overhead.

IV.

Ye dart upon the deep, and straight is heard
A wilder roar, and men grow pale, and pray;
Ye fling its waters round you, as a bird
Flings o'er his shivering plumes the fountain's spray.
See! to the breaking mast the sailor clings;
Ye scoop the ocean to its briny springs,
And take the mountain billow on your wings,
And pile the wreck of navies round the bay.

V.

Why rage ye thus?—no strife for liberty
Has made you mad; no tyrant, strong through fear,
Has chained your pinions, till ye wrenched them free,
And rushed into the unmeasured atmosphere:
For ye were born in freedom where ye blow;
Free o'er the mighty deep to come and go;
Earth's solemn words were yours, her wastes of snow,
Her isles where summer blossoms all the year.

VI.

O ye wild winds! a mightier Power than yours
In chains upon the shores of Europe lies;
The sceptred throng, whose fetters he endures,
Watch his mute throes with terror in their eyes;
And armed warriors all around him stand,
And, as he struggles, tighten every band,
And lift the heavy spear, with threatening hand,
To pierce the victim, should he strive to rise.

VII.

Yet oh, when that wronged Spirit of our race
Shall break, as he must, his long worn chains,
And leap in freedom from his prison-place,
Lord of his ancient hills and fruitful plains,
Let him not rise, like these mad winds of air,
To waste the loveliness that time could spare,
To fill the earth with wo, and blot her fair
Unconscious breast with blood from human veins.

VIII.

But may he like the spring-time come abroad,
Who crumbles winter's gyves with gentle might,
When in the genial breeze, the breath of God
Comes spouting up the unsealed springs to light;
Flowers start from their dark prisons at his feet,
The woods, long dumb, awake to hymnings sweet,
And morn and eve, whose glimmerings almost meet,
Crowd back to narrow bounds the ancient night.

'BLESSED ARE THEY THAT MOURN.'

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Oh, deem not they are blest alone
Whose lives a peaceful tenor keep;
The Power who pities man, has shown
A blessing for the eyes that weep.

The light of smiles shall fill again
The lids that overflow with tears;
And weary hours of woe and pain
Are promises of happier years.

There is a day of sunny rest
For every dark and troubled night;
And grief may bide, an evening guest,
But joy shall come with early light.

And thou, who o'er thy friend's low bier,
Sheddest the bitter drops like rain,
Hope that a brighter, happier sphere,
Will give him to thy arms again.

Nor let the good man's trust depart,
Though life its common gifts deny,
Though with a pierced and broken heart,
And spurned of men, he goes to die.

For God has marked each sorrowing day
And numbered every secret tear;
And heaven's long age of bliss shall pay
For all his children suffer here.

NON-RESISTANCE.

LETTER TO HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Nantucket, August 31, 1839.

Brother Wright:

Yours of the 10th July, addressed to me through the Liberator of the 16th inst., was received early last week.

I know of no person with whom I would sooner engage in a discussion of non-resistance, than yourself—for though in you I should find a strong antagonist, I should also be sure of an ingenuous and an honorable one; nor any paper which I would so soon occupy for such a purpose, as the Liberator—for I am acquainted with no other, whose columns are open for *free* discussion. But I am not disposed to engage in a newspaper discussion of this subject. I do not think it would be a profitable occupancy of my time. For of the merits of non-resistance, as a system—I suppose I may call it a system—I have not yet done either it or myself the justice to form any very definite views. To 'take up arms,' therefore, either for or against it, would be to me a somewhat awkward business. On this point, moreover, I am admonished by the course of others, especially of some who have 'taken up arms' *against* non-resistance. For the arguments I have heard employed against it, I must frankly own, have done more than any and every thing else to create in my mind a suspicion of its truth; and I have sometimes almost thought, that if I continued to read what is said in opposition to non-resistance, and in support of resistance, or the war system, if I did not become a convert to the former, I should be in danger of losing, at least, all speculative faith in the latter. I should regret to have any thing *I* might say, produce a similar effect on other minds—supposing, what I think it not unreasonable to suppose, that the war system may, after all, turn out to be the true one. Yet I have no objection 'to put on paper for insertion in the Liberator,' what you are pleased to call, my 'argument for self defence in the discussion held in this town on non-resistance.'

But before doing this, I must be indulged in a preliminary remark or two, rendered necessary, perhaps, by the false position in which I find myself placed by your letter. Its readers, knowing nothing of the circumstances, might infer, as probably many of them have inferred, that in the discussions held here I had put myself forward as the champion of resistance.—But this, you know, was not the fact. The circumstances under which I consented to appear, at all, in the discussion, were peculiar. I attempted, properly, no 'argument.' I simply—and this was done by request—threw out a few remarks suggestive of certain 'difficulties,' which had affected my mind in respect to non-resistance, designed solely, or chiefly, to elicit discussion; as, otherwise, it seemed likely there would be none; in which event, I knew the audience, which was very large, would be disappointed, since they had been invited to attend 'a discussion,' and not a lecture, on non-resistance. I tried to get some of the lawyers present to stand up and oppose your doctrines; but they, as you saw, seemed unwilling to do this, though it were to save their 'occupation.' Having thus, as a politician would say, 'explained my position,' I proceed to state, in compliance with your request, the substance of the remarks made by me on the occasion in reference.

The difficulties, I said, which affected my mind in respect of non-resistance, arose from three sources.—These were, the scriptures, the philosophy of human nature, and the condition of mankind. Of these difficulties, a few only, perhaps a specimen or two of each class, were all it would be worth while to state. And I was not sure that any of them affected, necessarily, the proposition, that 'man is not invested with the *penal* power of life and death over man;' a proposition, which I did not regard as covering the whole ground of non-resistance, since man might be invested with the power to take human life for *other* than punitive purposes.

1st. *The Scriptures.*—To those of the New Testament I referred; for it mattered little to me, as a Christian, what were the teachings of the Old. Were the Christian Scriptures clear on this subject, they should be decisive of the question with every professing Christian, and difficulties drawn from other sources should not be entertained by him. But they were not so; if they were, there could be, among honest, intelligent persons, who had examined them, no difference of opinion. I understood non-resistants to maintain, that a government based, as every existing one is, on the life taking power, was therefore wrong, contrary to the will of God, sinful; and, that being so, to participate in it, in any way or manner—to hold office under it, or to aid in appointing one to office—was equally wrong. Whether this was a necessary corollary, I would not undertake to decide; I doubted if it was; yet as my friend Wright asserted it to be so, so I should presume it to be. And I maintained it must be equally wrong, also, and for the same reasons, to contribute to the support of such government or office; for, what I might not do myself, nor lend my vote to appoint another to do, I certainly might not consent, by a contribution of money, to support men in doing. This would be admitted. But this was just what Jesus did do. He paid tribute to Cæsar's government, which was a war government; he contributed money to the support of a system founded on the life-taking power. This example of Jesus, it appeared to me, authorised one or other of the following inferences: Either, first, that a government is not wrong in virtue of being founded on the power to take human life; or, next, that being wrong in this particular respect, or for this particular reason, it was not therefore wrong to participate in, or contribute to, its support; or, lastly, that to imitate the example of our Savior, would be sinful. One or other of these conclusions was, in my judgment, inevitable. And the admission of either—would it not be a giving up of non-resistance? This was one of my difficulties. And it was the strongest scriptural difficulty, that had presented itself to my mind, in my reflections on this subject.

Another, though a comparatively slight, scriptural difficulty, I had found in the case of the two swords. When originally sent forth, the Apostles of Jesus went 'without purse,' 'scrip,' or 'shoe.' 'But now'—said their Master, as they were about to go forth again—'but now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip, and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. * * * * * And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.' Here was a commission to purchase swords, 'deadly weapons' of defence. Their authority to furnish themselves with these, was the same that authorised them to take 'purse and scrip.' And if commissioned to buy, was it not a fair inference, that they might use, swords. 'Purse and scrip,' none probably would assert they were not to use these. How, then, could such an assertion be made of the swords? I had heard it said, that the swords could not have been designed for defence, because *two* would have been insufficient for such a purpose; that it was, indeed, positively absurd to imagine, that twelve men could have thought to defend themselves with a couple of swords. But how was I certain of that? Who knew 'the might that slumbered in' an *apostle's* 'arm?' If Sampson, with the 'jaw-bone of an ass, slew a thousand men,' who would say what execution two apostles might not do, each armed with a 'well tempered sword?' And was not the assertion of the insufficiency of two swords for the defence of a dozen men, at variance with the declaration of Jesus? Did he not say two were 'enough?'

In the passages of scripture I had heard quoted to prove civil government 'an ordinance of God,' I feel bound to admit, I saw nothing that necessarily clashes with Non-Resistance. I had not come there to prove the *divinity* of *human* governments. They might do that who could. The authors of the Declaration of American Independence regarded civil government as an institution of 'the people,' not of God, except in the sense in which God might be deemed the author of *all* things. And there doubtless was a sense in which it were proper to say, that whatever *is*, is 'ordained of God'—or, as some had it, that 'God hath *fore*-ordained whatsoever comes to pass.' In this sense, civil government and steam navigation, were alike ordinations of God; and if either were so in any other sense, the fact was not obvious to my mind, and the attempt to prove it, especially by the thirteenth chapter of Romans, would involve, I feared, so great absurdities, that I should not venture to urge it, as others had done, as an objection to non-resistance.

2d. *The philosophy of human nature.*—Benevolence is Christianity's distinguishing, perhaps its only peculiar, characteristic. It seeks not its own but others' good. Man is endowed with a *faculty* of Benevolence. And, were this made his governing principle of action, it is certain he would neither avenge nor protect himself by inflicting injury, either mental or physical, upon a fellow being. Yet he might do this for others; for, guided by Benevolence alone, man would do for his neighbor *more* than for himself. Benevolence would seek to promote the greatest possible amount of happiness. But the greatest possible amount of happiness, might require the infliction of physical pain, of physical death even. Were it necessary to save a ship's crew, that one man should perish, Benevolence would say, let him perish. The idea, that one, loving another, might kill that other in consistency with love, had been laughed at; but I saw in it nothing ludicrous or inconsistent. I saw not why a man might not heartily compassionate, love, and pray for, a fellow creature, whose life he was about to take. It would not, I supposed, be deemed a necessary inference, that I hated myself, should I consent like Socrates, to die by my own hands—and Benevolence might require even that of me—for the good of my country, or of mankind. I maintained, then, that Benevolence itself, while it would prompt a person to 'suffer and die himself,' rather than injure another on his own account, might still not only justify but demand the infliction of physical pain, of physical death even.

But Benevolence was not designed to be *the* governing principle of man. He had other faculties; of which were, the sentiment of justice, the love of life, and the instinct of resistance. This last was mentioned by Dr. Reed and Dugald Stewart under the name of 'sudden resentment,' by Dr. Tho. Brown under that of 'instant anger;' and by another Scotch philosopher, it had been more appropriately denominated, the faculty of 'opposiveness.' Dr. Gall called it 'courage,' and Dr. Spurzheim and Mr. Combe, 'combativeness.' Some had called it the 'instinct of self-defence,' but inaccurately I thought. But if man *were* endowed with a special faculty whose primitive function was self-defence—and this had been assumed by some—it would be decisive with me of the question of non-resistance. I should then deem it a libel on the human constitution, except in application to those cases in which it would prove the most effectual mode of *resistance*. True, all these faculties were blind, and should therefore be directed by the intellect. But from the implantation of them in the human mind, what would the intellect naturally infer? This was the important question. But the love of life being conferred to attach man to existence, and the instinct of opposiveness to resist oppression, was it not the most natural, the most probable inference, that the latter was to be exercised as well for the gratification of the former, as for any other purpose, even to the extent, if need were, of inflicting death? So, at least, *my* intellect decided. My brother Wright and others thought differently. But all, I supposed, would agree with me, that this might be done, if it could be done without violating the sentiment of justice. But did not this sentiment, enlightened by the intellect, declare, that the maintenance of right is of greater moment than the preservation of life? The sentiment of justice was a higher, a nobler faculty, than the faculty of love of life. That, was peculiar to man; this, common to him and the lower animals. The prompting of the former, claimed a paramount regard. Accordingly, one would even sacrifice his life to maintain the right, and it was esteemed honorable to do so. Was one, then, bound to let both the right and one's own life be struck down, rather than resist the miscreant who assailed them? Was he bound to love the assassin better than himself—to be more regardful of the former's than he is of his own life, when the right was at stake?—There were beings in the form of outward humanity, in whom the inward attributes of humanity seemed scarce recognisable; beings, idiotic and ferocious; Caribs in intellect; in disposition, tigers. And so they must remain, while in this world; since their unfortunate mental constitution was owing to an irremediably defective cerebral organization. John Locke called them changelings; we called them men; and men they were, having all the human faculties; though these, as was first intimated, in consequence of their defective physical instruments, could never, in the present life, manifest themselves; so that, regard being had to this life only, it were hardly philosophical to call them men; to all intents and purposes, perhaps, they were mere animals. There were others, who although born with favorable endowments, which had been suitably improved by cultivation, had been transformed, by cerebral disease, into destructive maniacs, or monomaniacs—into a sort of human hyenas, in some instances—also incurable. Now suppose one of there men at large. I saw him, armed with bowie knife, carbine, or other 'bloody instrument,' with his hyeana, tiger propensities in a paroxysm of excitement, doing their appropriate work, butchering, thrusting into eternity, it might be, with souls unprepared, numerous defenceless persons. My own life, I believed, would be taken, and there was no telling where the work of destruction would end, unless I consented to disable the monster, as I might, by shooting him down. What ought I to do? The non-resistant would say, 'Touch not the monster; at least, inflict no physical injury upon him; and, above all, take not his life—though it were to save the lives of all that live in God's wide universe. 'Die yourself.' 'Human life is inviolable.' He might be right; but *I* could not see that he was so. Certainly I should say, 'now *was* the time to fire.'

3d. *The condition of mankind.*—I maintained this to be such as rendered the doctrines of non-resistance impracticable. The very structure of some men's constitutions, made it impossible for them to accept and act upon those doctrines. Of this description, were the 'human hyenas' just alluded to, and others to whom the expression was less applicable. The fault, it might be, was not in their '*will*,' either. It was not to be taken for granted, that they were, as had been intimated, like slaveholders, who continued to oppress, and rob, and murder, only because they did not 'will' to do otherwise. On the contrary, though they willed, never so sincerely, to receive and practise the doctrines of non-resistance, it might still be impossible for them to do so. If Paul could say, 'To *will*, is present with me, but how to *perform* that which is good, I find not,' how much more might they to whom I alluded! But it was a gross error, to suppose that all wrong conduct proceeds from a perverse will. The latter might be right, while the former was wrong. Passions, uncontrollable, might, and sometimes did, and would, overpower the will. But supposing the fault, in the persons referred to, did lie in the will; who could assure me, that that, under the existing circumstances, could be otherwise than it was? But, it might be said, individuals of this description constituted but a part, and probably but a very small part, of mankind; and admitting they could not be non-resistants, practically, was it not, nevertheless, 'the imperious duty' of those who could, to become such? That involved the essence of the question at issue. I could not see it to be so. If God had so said, then it was, it must be so. But in respect of some things—and I thought this might be one of them—God had left men to determine, each for himself, what was duty. And in such cases, it was necessary, as a means of arriving at a correct decision, to inquire into probable consequences. John Adams was reported to have said, that if all men were to become Quakers, the earth would be filled with war, bloodshed, and murder. I did not quite subscribe to that. Were the *world* Quakerised, I had no doubt the consequences would be glorious. But were it *half* Quakerised, or rather, were *half* the world transformed into non-resistants, I feared the consequences would *not* be altogether glorious. Not that there would be greater destruction of human life—though there might be of human rights—than at present. I thought there would be less. But if so, the diminution would be made at the expense of the lives and rights of the innocent. Would the benefits repay the sacrifice? 'Peradventure, for a *good* man, some would even dare to die;'—the apostle did not say they *should* do so. But were we bound to bare our bosoms to cut-throats—to give up our lives and our rights to save the carcasses of scoundrels that would annihilate both? The probable consequences of adopting such a course, appeared to my judgment to be such, as to render it almost certain it could not be the true one—could not be the one required of us.

The object aimed at by non-resistants, was the noblest that ever occupied the thoughts of men or angels. It was, 'on earth, peace, good will toward men'; the grand object of the Savior's advent. The denunciation and abuse poured out upon them, by reckless and unthinking individuals, were worthy the blaspheming persecutors of Jesus. Many of the non-resistants I had met with, and among them all I did not remember to have found a villain, or a madman, or a fool. For both the heads and the hearts of the more prominent ones, I had the greatest reverence. But the means employed by them, I was convinced, were inadequate to accomplish the great object they had in view. 'To bring men out of the kingdom of swords and guns, of human will and violence, into the peaceful, bloodless kingdom of God,' something else was required besides preaching. The sinfulness of the formed, and the holiness of the latter, might be preached till the day of judgment, and mankind remain pretty much as they now were. Neither is the kingdom of non-resistance to be set up in the world, and all men induced to enter, and be at peace, without preaching. But to this there was a pre-requisite, which seemed, as yet, to have been scarcely thought of. The husbandman did not sow, till he had first prepared the ground. For the reception of the seed of non-resistance, the soil of humanity was yet to be prepared. 'Stony' enough was that soil, and infested with 'thorns,' also, though much of it, doubtless, was 'good.' Here was work enough. And some of it might be more mechanical, than most people were aware of. Those eternal, unvarying laws, on which the Creator had made man's moral and intellectual capacities to depend,—men must learn and obey these, some of which were purely organic, before they could be prepared for non-resistance. They were now extensively disregarded, because generally unknown. Between man's physical organization, and his power, in the present life, of manifesting intellect and moral sentiment, of understanding and *living* the noble precepts of Christianity, God had established an indissoluble relation. The laws which governed the growth and developement of that organization, were the same with the laws that governed those of the lower animals. This was what men had yet to learn. And to inform them thoroughly on the subject of the natural laws, would do more, in my judgment, to establish peace on earth, than all the means I had yet heard of non-resistants employing for that purpose—more than millions of your non-resistance sermons and lectures, though uttered in the ears of all men by angel voices speaking out of the skies. Let, then, information on this subject be diffused. Let men receive and act upon it. Then would the requisite preparation of the soil of human nature have been accomplished. Then might the good 'seed' of non-resistance be cast into it, and it would 'spring up,' and 'yield fruit,' and 'bring forth' such a harvest, as should not disappoint the expectation and desire of 'the sower.'

But I would not be thought to undervalue 'the foolishness of preaching.' The importance of *this* kind of 'foolishness,' provided it were not foolish preaching, it would be difficult to exaggerate. Nor would I pronounce the preaching of non-resistance, in the present condition of mankind, to be useless. I did not think it was so. I thought it might do good. The husbandman who sowed, even if he had neglected to prepare the soil, would doubtless realize *some* fruit, though it might be meagre and of an inferior sort. So, the preaching of non-resistance, in the present unprepared state of the world, might not be unproductive. I did not think it had been so. Already, it appeared to me, good had come of it. Though at present it was much less efficient than perhaps its friends imagined, and could never, in my judgment, without the previous employment of other means, which had been adverted to, accomplish the object at which they aimed, yet I did not doubt it could even now do something, and was doing something, 'to bring man out from the iron despotism of man, and put him under the supreme, eternal dominion of the Lord Almighty.' But an indispensable pre-requisite to the *entire* accomplishment of this most desirable object, was, that human beings should be born with better brains, than many now possess. 'Man will be happy,' said an illustrious philosopher, 'when he confines himself to understand the laws of his Creator, and to find out the means of putting them into execution.' Then, too, and not before, would the kingdom of peace come. But until man *should* understand those laws, and find out the means of putting them into execution, I saw not how I could desire the subversion of human governments, imperfect, bad as they might be. If these were ever to be put away, the time had not yet come. I would use them as a means of introducing a better state of things; even as of old, the legal dispensation had served to introduce that of the Gospel, and as its introduction had been preceded by the patriarchal economy. This would be scouted by non-resistants, but to my mind nothing was more reasonable. The world must be changed gradually; it could not be done 'by jerk'; and what in itself was not desirable, was not ultimate, it would not always do to thrust suddenly aside. And was it not easy to see, that under this very 'cut-throat system,' as civil government had been called, mankind had been, and were, progressing towards a better condition of things! Had not the criminal codes of at least all civilized nations been greatly ameliorated; and was not the work of amelioration still going on? Were not wars less frequent, and did it not require mightier causes to produce them, now, than formerly? Were not nations beginning to feel, more and more, their responsibility, if not to the laws of God, at least to the tribunal of public opinion? And was there not every where, except among a few abolitionists, an increased and an increasing respect for the sacred rights of conscience?—But I must stop. I had extended my remarks further, than I at first designed; and they were made less with the view of *resisting* non-resistance, than of exciting discussion on the great subject, and letting it be seen how obstacles thrown in its path might be removed by an able advocate of the system.

I have thus, my worthy brother, written down the substance of what I said 'in the discussions held in this town on non-resistance.' I know not that I have omitted any thing important, and on some points I have expressed myself even more fully than I was then able to do. My 'difficulties,' such as they were, with a single exception in the case of the 'two swords,' which I thought you disposed of very successfully, remain to be removed, notwithstanding the very ingenious effort made by yourself on the occasion to remove them.

The views presented by our friend Andrew Mcay, I, of course, am not expected to communicate. Himself only can do that, as it should be done. His well-expressed reasons for human governments, if not conclusive, based as they were on the Utilitarian Principle—the greatest happiness of the greatest number—I should think it difficult to disprove. The Utilitarian standard of right, I do not admit to be *the* standard. It is too variable; in scarce any two minds is it the same, but is modified by the idiosyncrasies, and different degrees of information, of each.

One word, and but a word, touching certain 'suggestions' thrown out in your letter, and I shall have closed this protracted communication.

If you do *not* 'mistake,' in supposing my 'argument went to prove, that each individual is justified in defending life at *all* hazards,' then I mistake; for I am not aware of having set up an argument that tended, necessarily, to any such conclusion.

I do not see, that 'reason, conscience, benevolence, and christianity, would all say,' that 'if the life of *one* assailant might be taken to defend life, the lives of a million [or of any number] might be taken.' For, although I do not find in Utilitarianism *the* standard of right, still my benevolence might regard it as *a* principle of action.

'If the government, by its agents, assails our lives, it is our right and duty to defend ourselves by the destruction of the government and all its emissaries.' I do not see, either, how this follows from the admission, that a man may defend himself from assassins. May one do that which one is sworn not to do? What he, who, like the Non-Resistant, disclaims, from conscience, all allegiance to any human government, might do, I will not undertake to say.

'If the doctrine of self-defence be true, the assailant's *intention* to take my life is my commission to kill him.' I do not see, how this can be, either. He who 'intends to kill me,' has undoubtedly committed as great a sin against 'God,' and deserves as great a punishment, as though he had actually done so. But 'the doctrine of self-defence.' need not be derived from, it does not depend on, the fact, that the assailant is a sinner; and it has just as little connexion with the question of man's right to *punish* man.

'Every word uttered in favor of the Revolutionary war, by abolitionists, by ministers of Church or State, is an exhortation to the slave to imbrue his hands in the blood of his master.' It would be, certainly, were the slaves in a condition to imitate, successfully, the heroes of that war. And, in that event, I am unable to *see* why it would not be just as much 'the right and duty of abolitionists, of all friends of God and man (saving those *pledged* to do otherwise,) to help them,' as it was 'the right and duty' of Lafayette, and his coadjutors, 'to help' our fathers in the American Revolution.

I am, with great respect and esteem,
Yours, GEO. BRADBURN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

LETTER FROM REV. J. A. JAMES.

The following is an extract of a letter from Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham, Eng. to the editor of the N. Y. Evangelist:

I will advert to another topic immediately connected with the power and usefulness of American example in this country. I mean the great question of slavery. No Minister, nor private Christian, coming from the United States, however great his excellence may be in other respects—however valuable the cause might be which he is anxious to recommend—or whatever introduction and recommendations he may bring—can be authorized to expect to do much good, who is not prepared to declare himself the warm and steady friend of emancipation. I am quite aware that some of our people are not disposed to make such allowances, as without at all compromising the question may be made, for those who till lately never thought of the criminality of this enormous sin, nor for the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded in your country; but still, when charity has stretched itself to the uttermost, many find it a most puzzling matter to reconcile revivals of religion with the opposition of the South, and the indifference of many in the North and East to the abolition of slavery. We are ready to admit that it is possible, that some of the advocates of abolition may be indiscreet in their sayings and doings; and that they may have mixed up other matters with the question, that may tend to prejudice it in the estimation of many. All this may be so. But still *there* is the evil—monstrous, horrible, and utterly indefensible, loading the country with crime and misery. We know very well the nature of your Federal Constitution, and that your general government has no authority in this matter over the separate states, any more than England has over France; still there is the district of Columbia under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, where the atrocities of slavery are carried on under the flag of the capitol and the eyes of Congress.—There is the prejudice against color pervading the North and the East, as well as the South; there is the right of petitioning virtually surrendered, by allowing the voice of the people to be suppressed and discussion to be forbidden; there is the opportunity presented, but neglected, of choosing representatives friendly to emancipation; and above all, there is the power of the pulpit and the press, possessed, but not employed as perhaps it might be, to bear testimony against this cruel outrage against the rights of humanity. It is not however my intention to enter deeply into this subject, but merely to refer to it in connection with the influence of American example.

It was but last evening at a public meeting of the British Missionary Society of this town, I heard the matter alluded to by a powerful and eloquent speaker, in a strain of burning indignation that convulsed the audience, and almost made the place to shake with marks of disgust at the American slaveholders and of approbation of the orator, who in such terms of withering accusation would arraign them before God and his country. This is a very common case. Could you hear the shouts and plaudits which follow the announcement of one of your countrymen, whenever it occurs that he avows himself an emancipationist, you would be most deeply impressed with the strong feeling that exists on this subject in the church of God on this side of the Atlantic. Drs. Beman and Patton, and Mr. Kirk, will not soon forget the expressions of public applause with which they were received on the platform, when they declared themselves to be the friends of the slave and the enemies of slavery. May He whose grace has wrought the great temperance reformation, and made your country an illustrious example to the world, and especially to the father-land, enable you in turn to imitate that father-land, in the abolition of slavery. Then will you be fitted and prepared, perhaps, above all people, to make known God's way upon the earth—his saving health among all nations.

It is my anxious hope, I repeat, that the increasing intercourse between the ministers and christians of the two countries, may not end in the mere gratification of curiosity, however laudable; but in their reciprocal improvement as the servants of God, the followers of Christ, and the friends of man. We are able to do each other good, and are under solemn obligations to make the attempt.

From the Marion (Ohio) Visiter.

Disgraceful Occurrence. Tuesday morning last presented a scene of confusion and excitement never before witnessed in our peaceful village. It appears that a negro, well known to our citizens by the name of Bill, was sometime since, taken up as a runaway slave from Virginia, and lodged in the jail of this county for trial. On Monday, the day set for his trial, we discovered an unusual number of persons assembled to hear the result—the house was crowded to overflowing. The witnesses were examined, and counsel heard; the Judge, however, reserved his decision till the following morning.

It being the first day of the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas, a great mass of people was assembled. At ten o'clock, A. M., the court was called (the house was literally crowded,) to hear the decision of the Judge, which occupied at least 40 minutes in delivering, during which, the greatest order prevailed; but as soon as the Hon. O. Bowen had finished, by declaring the prisoner free, all was confusion, riot and disorder. As soon as the decision was ended, the *pretended* owners seized the prisoner; the bystanders resisted and endeavored to rescue him, declaring him to be free, and desiring them to let him run at large, but the Virginians still maintained their position by force, and presented pistols, bowie knives, dirks, &c. threatening the lives of all those who would lay hands on them or the negro, and all this in open court. Our citizens and friends from the country stood out in defence of their trampled and insulted laws which were thus set at defiance.

In the scene of confusion the negro was taken down stairs and dragged by his captors through the streets. Those who forced him onward were armed with pistols, bowie knives and daggers. At this unusual and horrible sight, the populace became enraged and attacked them with stones, and whatever missiles they could get hold of—they at length succeeded in getting him into one of our justice's office, and there guarded him (as is stated) for a new trial. Before the door of the office the excited multitude assembled, demanding justice and the negro, but all of no avail, the entrance was guarded with pistols and bowie knives. At this time the sheriff arrived and begged to be heard, and requested the mob to disperse, but this was also of no effect.—At length the cry for the public arms was made, the arsenal broken open, and the arms obtained, which presented a horrible spectacle. The excited populace under arms still demanded entrance, which was refused. All the orders of the Sheriff and court to restore order seemed to be of no effect. Pistols and bowie knives were all the law.

At length one of the Associate Judges, (Judge Anderson) left the bench, and in defiance of cocked pistols and flashing steel, forced his way into the office, after which others followed, and burst open the back door, by which means the negro made his escape. He had run but a short distance, when he was overtaken by his pursuer, who threatened him with presented pistol, to shoot him, if he did not stop. At this time a number of the enraged multitude fell upon the pursuer and knocked him down; another who came to his assistance, shared the same fate. The confusion continued until orders were given to arrest the rioters. During the arrest of the rioters, the negro made his escape, and has not since been heard of.

We would further remark that the rioters (we believe eight in number) were the same day arrested, and recognized to appear from day to day, under the bonds of $600 each.

A lady named Daurant, relying on the favorable disposition of Queen Victoria to her views, has presented a petition to the House of Commons, requiring a repeal of the laws and customs affecting the civil, political, judicial and religious rights of women in England.

Free Negroes in Alabama.—By a law of the last session of the Alabama Legislature, all the free persons of color who remain in the State after the 1st of August next, are liable to be enslaved.

☞ Willis, in one of his late letters in the Courier, has the following notice of Mr. Webster in London:

'I have met Mr. Webster at several parties, and have been amused by the sensation produced by his magnificent head. I do not say by his reputation, because, three persons out of four who have spoken to me of him, take him to be the *Noah Webster of the Dictionary!* It would be difficult to make our countrymen believe how ignorant are even the better classes of England of our great names, but I declare to you that I do not think there are ten people in any hundred of those who meet nightly in the drawing rooms of London, who know for what he is celebrated. It has happened to me, not once, but several times, to be asked the question, and twice I have been obliged to rob him of the honor of the great Dictionary. The literary, political, and legal men, however, throng around Mr. Webster, and pay him all the honor and deference which his warmest friends in America could exact or desire. I met him at Hallam's the historian, a night or two since, where were Sidney Smith, Babbidge, Milman, Mills, Macready, and a troop of other bright spirits, at the time, and his fine head was the focus of all eyes and thoughts. Two ladies near me were discussing his phrenological beauties, when a third broke in with 'Well, I should never think of wasting time at the top of his head. He is the handsomest man I ever saw, bumps or no bumps! Look at his smile!' I do not know whether much of this sort of tribute was expected, but Mr. Webster is likely to reap as many compliments as laurels abroad. The American merchants in London, I see, are to give him a dinner, and he is overwhelmed with attention, private and public.'

There had been quite a startling *coup d' etat* at Buenos Ayres, the scene of which was no less dignified a place than the Senate chamber. A mob collected in front of the building, and thence rushing into the chamber, killed the president of the Senate, Senor Maza, as he sat in his chair; afterward the murderers went in search of Senor Maza's son, the colonel of a regiment, whom they also put to death. Many of the assassins were subsequently arrested by order of the Governor, Rosas, but strong suspicions existed that his excellency was not much opposed to their proceedings, or entirely ignorant of them before they were carried into effect. It was reported that Maza and his son had been engaged in a conspiracy, which had come to the knowledge of the Governor General.—*N. Y. Commercial.*

An old 'un. A black woman, named Maria Gearen Robin, died at New Orleans on the 16th ult. at the advanced age of 107 1-2 years. Up to the last half year of her life she had been able to walk to church, &c. and attend to the business of housewifery. She never wore specs, nor used any other artificial aid for her sight. Her doctor's bill through life amounted to just nothing at all; her apothecary's ditto. She never took a dose of medicine, whether cream of tartar, or glauber salts, calomel or lobelia. In the same house with her lived—and still lives there—her daughter who is seventy years of age; her grand daughter who is fifty years of age, and her great grand daughter, who is sixteen years old. The mother of the deceased died in that city, aged one hundred and one years.

Destruction of a Splendid Steamer.—A memorandum on the margin of the Buffalonian, of Sept. 5th, says, 'as our Great Western, the largest boat but one of all that sail on the inland waters of the U. States, was leaving Detroit, she was discovered to be in flames, and was burned, all but hull and engine, which may be rebuilt. She was commanded by Capt. Walker, who commanded the ill-fated Washington, which was burned last summer.' The Great Western was a most splendid boat, built in the style of the Mississippi boats, with high pressure engines. She cost over $100,000. She was 800 tons burthen.

At the distribution of the prizes of the *grand concours* of the Royal Colleges of Paris and Versailles, which took place at the Sorbonne, Aug. 19th, in presence of the King and Royal family, the prize of honor was gained by a mulatto from Guadaloupe, named Girard, and the first prize of natural philosophy by Phillips (Edward,) of London.

Another of the Africans, called Bootah, died this morning in the jail of this city. This is the twelfth of the party that had died since they left Havana.—*New Haven Herald.*

Church Burned. The Episcopal Church St Luke's at Catskill, was destroyed, by fire on Tuesday, the walls alone being left standing.

Query.—What would the ladies do, if they were *born* with such a camel's hump upon their backs, as some of them now make with the fashionable pad called a *bustle*, alias a *bishop?* They would consider it a great calamity, and indeed if one of them was afflicted with a *tumor* of the same size and shape, she would have it removed by the surgeon's knife. How some people will deform themselves for fashion's sake.—*Hartford Review.*

Eighty steamboats were lost in various ways on the western waters during 1838.

FARM FOR SALE.

Situated near the pleasant village of Brooklyn, Windham County, Connecticut, within five minutes walk of the Court House, Academy, School House, and three meeting-houses of different denominations. The farm contains about EIGHTY ACRES OF GOOD LAND, is well fenced, with durable stone wall, has several never-failing springs of excellent water, two orchards, and a growth of thrifty wood sufficient for the use of one family.

Also a large and commodious DWELLING HOUSE with other convenient buildings, all in good repair. The house is located between two turnpike roads, on which pass daily the Providence and Hartford, and Norwich and Worcester stage-coaches. The Norwich and Worcester railroad is three miles distant, which when completed, will bring Boston within six hours ride. For further particulars, inquire of W. L. Garrison, Boston, S. J. May, South Scituate, or of the subscriber on the premises. GEO. W. BENSON.

Brooklyn, July 1st, 1839.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE OFFICE,

No. 36 Brattle Street.

THE subscriber, in consequence of the almost daily application to him for colored help by citizens of Boston and vicinity, has been induced to try the experiment of securing good places to colored persons of merit, by establishing the above office.

Wanted immediately, two good Wash women.

For character, refer to Wm. L. Garrison, Wm. & Burley, Oliver Johnson, Rev. Sam'l Snowden and Elder J. V. Himes. JOHN T. HILTON.

Boston, Aug. 22, 1839.

TUITION WANTED.

The subscriber, desirous of having his young daughter privately instructed in the first rudiments of an English education, adopts this method of saying to any lady wishing to instruct a child in the manner alluded to, that they will be able to hear of the individual on application at the Anti-Slavery office, No. 25, Cornhill, Boston. ☞One in the city would be preferred.

JOHN ROBINSON.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY,

Two smart boys, as waiters, from 12 to 15 years old.—Also, two women and two girls. Apply at the Anti-Slavery Intelligence office, No. 36, Brattle street. Conditions made known as above.

BOARDING HOUSE.

DAVID RUE would inform his friends and the public, that he has opened a house at No. 34 Southac Street, where a few gentlemen and ladies of color can be accommodated with permanent or transient board.

Strangers visiting the city, are solicited to give him a call, as his house is pleasantly situated, and every exertion will be used to give general satisfaction.

Boston, June 4th, 1839.

SLAVERY AS IT IS:

Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses.

A large lot of this new and valuable book, by T. D. Weld, has just been received at the Mass. A. S. Society's Depository, 25 Cornhill. Price 37 1-2 cts. The book ought to be scattered all over the land, and read in every family. Send in your orders.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1840.

Just received and for sale, at the Anti-Slavery Depository, 25 Cornhill, TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND A. S. Almanacs at the following prices:—

Thirty dollars per thousand.
Three and a half " hundred.
Fifty cents " dozen.
Six cents single.

Sept. 9th, 1839.

LACE OR STAR PATTERN VICTORIA SHELL COMB.

THE Subscriber has just manufactured a large assortment of his new work. The style of ornament cannot be imitated in horn, and is much admired for beauty and durability.

Ladies are invited to call and examine, at No. 2 Milk street. A. S. JORDAN.

DR. BECKWITH,

THE inventor of the Anti-Despeptic Pills, is a distinguished and highly reputed family physician in North Carolina. They were never offered to the public until their efficacy had gained them general celebrity among the most respectable families of his practice. They have become as highly popular wherever introduced. A. S. JORDAN, No. 2 Milk street, General Agent.